DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 128 517 UD 016 287

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TITLE Changes in Organizational Structures of Large School Systems with Special Reference to Problems of Teacher Militancy and Organizational Conflict.
INSTITUTION Florida Univ., Gainesville.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
BUREAU NO BR-8-0254
PUB DATE Mar 71
GRANT OEG-0-8-080254-4461(010)
NOTE 301p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$16.73 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Change Agents; Change Strategies; Conceptual Schemes; Conflict; Conflict Resolution; Decision Making; Educational Change; *Models; *Organizational Change; Organizational Climate; *Organizational Development; Planning; School Organization; *School Systems; Social Change; Teacher Militancy; *Urban Schools

ABSTRACT

This project presents a developmental study of alternative models for the organization of large school districts. Its objectives are: (1) to conceptualize, describe, and develop alternative administrative structures for large urban school systems; (2) to conceptualize and describe staffing policies for the different models; and, (3) to conceptualize the organizational arrangement and procedures required for the resolution of organizational conflict, such as administrator, board member, and teacher conflicts arising from teacher militancy. Seven chapters address the following topics: the problem and procedures for the study, school district organization and administration (history, review of the literature, and other issues), confrontation, politics, and conflict in urban school systems models of large school system organization, alternative models for large school system organization, consequential analysis, and the summary of findings, conclusions, and implications. A series of appendices, tables, and figures are also included. There is indication that the intensity of conflicts in many urban school districts may divert too much of the energy of school administrators and other personnel away from the primary goal to provide quality educational programs. Also indicated is the need for a system that is more flexible and more responsive, for increased communication, and for the increased opportunity to participate in decision making. (Author/AM)

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ED128517

FINAL REPORT

Project Number 8-0254

Grant Number OEG-0-8-080254-4461 (010)

CHANGES IN ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES OF LARGE SCHOOL SYSTEMS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PROBLEMS OF TEACHER MILITANCY AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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UD016287

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SUMMARY

This project was a developmental study of alternative models for the organization of large school districts. The continuing demands of changing societal and professional forces have produced both functional and dysfunctional conflict situations in the organizations of large urban school districts. This study included data about the organization of several large school districts. Existing models for the organization of school districts in the United States were discussed. Alternative models for the organization of school districts were presented. Forecasts by educational administrators concerning the future of school district organization were included.

Objectives of the Project

The objectives of this project were: (1) to conceptualize, describe, and develop alternative administrative structures for large urban school systems; (2) to conceptualize and describe staffing policies for the different models; and (3) to conceptualize the organizational arrangement and procedures required for the resolution of organizational conflict, such as administrator, board member, and teacher conflicts arising from teacher militancy.

The project staff concentrated its developmental efforts on the following subproblems.

1. Identify and describe the existing patterns of large urban school organization and administration.
2. Describe and analyze the existing decision-making and communication processes in urban school systems.
3. Describe and analyze the major conflicts (community, teacher, pupil) in large school systems.
4. Conceptualize and describe alternative structures of organization and administration for urban school systems.
5. Conceptually test the alternative models.

Procedures

The design of this project was developmental. It included a systematic arrangement of logical and empirical analyses to describe alternative models for the organization of large urban school systems. The project was conducted in three phases.

The first phase included: (1) extensive analysis of literature and research from the various fields of administration; (2) assistance from consultants on organizational theory; (3) research studies in school districts; and (4) assistance from practitioners in urban school districts. This phase changed the direction of the study from the original intention of concentrating on a single model administrative structure to emphasis upon describing alternative models of school district organization.

The second phase consisted of describing alternative models for school district organization and conceptual field testing of the models. The model descriptions were revised three times in accordance with suggestions from those 562 persons participating at various points in the analysis.

The third phase consisted of writing the final draft of the alternative models and further testing of the models (using the Delphi Technique) with superintendents of large school districts and chief state school officers. The final description of the models, forecasts of the future, and the empirical research studies were combined into this final report.

Alternative Models for Schools

District Organization

The alternative models briefly described in the body of the final report for this project do not include all possible ways for organizing large school districts. For instance, no model was included that would tend to remove the schools from public control. While some of the organizational approaches included in the report might be described by some persons as radical, the emphasis during their development was upon their feasibility.

School district organizational patterns in the United States have both geographic and historical bases and no single pattern has predominated. Five basic patterns currently exist: unified, unified city and county (metropolitan), state, decentralized services, and regional decentralization. The first four patterns have administrative centralization and the latter has administrative decentralization. Two experimental patterns, which are being discussed widely, are feeder school decentralization (educational park) and community control. Feeder school decentralization results in administrative decentralization. The community control model results in a reorganization of the power and control relationships in the school district.

The existing patterns of school district organization are not meeting many of the needs created by the changing demands of societal and professional groups. Size appears to be an important factor. Eighty percent of the districts in our sample with over 75,000 pupils were planning administrative decentralization, whereas 80 percent of the school districts with 50,000 to 75,000 pupils reported no plans for administrative decentralization.

The alternative organizational models for school districts described in this report may be classified into five types: (1) administrative centralization; (2) independent; (3) administrative decentralization; (4) functional operations; and (5) pluralistic. Most of the models used at the time of this study were of the administrative centralization, administrative decentralization, and independent types.

Centralization Models.—Models of urban school district organization included in this typology were: Unified City or County, Unified City and County (metropolitan), and the State I model. The Unified City model is geographically coterminous with the boundaries of the city. The Unified County usually includes all suburban and rural areas outside the city boundaries. Both of these models are organized along bureaucratic concepts, and little attempt has been made to decentralize decision-making or services. Only one state model was used at the time of this study.

Administrative Decentralization Models.—Three models of administrative decentralization were discussed. The Instructional Services Decentralization and Regional Decentralization models were the most frequently used. Data from this study indicate that, when school districts grow in size to over 75,000 pupils, school officials seek some means of decentralization. In the Instructional Services Decentralization model, administrative control is still centralized in the central administrative offices, but significant instructional resources are decentralized to make them closer to the individual schools and teachers. The aim in the Regional Decentralization model is to decentralize some control and decision-making in the bureaucracy. Feeder School Decentralization (i.e., educational park) has been discussed in the literature but had not been fully implemented in practice at the time of this study.

Independent Models.—The school district organizations in this category include: Community Control, Small Rural, Elementary, and Secondary. Except for the proposed Community Control model, most school districts organized under this category are not large in enrollment. Therefore, in this project attention was focused upon describing a model for community control.

Functional Operations Models.—Three types of functional operations type models were included for illustrative purposes in the final report for this project: State Regional Educational Service Agency (RESA), Metropolitan Educational Service Agency (MESA), and Coordinated Community Resources Corporation (CCRC). The State RESA model provides for larger regions and smaller operating districts than the highly centralized state model. The MESA model provides for a two level organization within a metropolitan area. It combines centralized taxing, certain services, and local participation and control of education. The Coordinated Community Resources Corporation model provides a bureaucratic structure for the integration of education, health, and welfare services.

Collegial or Pluralistic Models.—Pluralistic models were developed to provide the maximum participation by all of the groups affected by education. The functions of the school district were divided into legislative, judicial, and executive. The maximum participation was placed in the legislative function. A separate board was created to assume the judicial function. Two illustrative pluralistic models (Federal Model and Egalitarian Model) were presented and discussed.

The superintendents of large school districts and the chief state school officers who participated in the Delphi study felt that the following alternative models will be used during the 1970's and 1980's.

- Unified City or County
- Unified City and County
- Regional Decentralization
- Feeder School Decentralization
- Instructional Service Decentralization
- State Regional Educational Service Agency

They also felt that the following alternative patterns will be initiated during the 1980s:

- State System Without Local Boards
- Coordinated Community Resources Corporation
- Federal and Egalitarian Models of Pluralism
- Community Control

Those participating in the Delphi study did not view these models as equally desirable.

The administrative organization of each of the models referred to above was discussed in the final report for the project. A brief description of staffing and an illustrative organizational chart were included. Illustrative discussions of modifications in the bureaucratic concept were given, including a discussion of an organizational pattern using PPBS and the system spanning unit concepts.

Criteria were developed to assist in evaluating the organizational patterns in terms of educational goals and philosophical values. These criteria may be helpful in evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of the various alternative models discussed.

Studies of Organizational Conflict and Decision-Making

Studies of conflict were conducted in several large urban school districts. Data from these studies indicate that most of the conflicts (almost half) occurred with community groups rather than with teachers (about 30 percent of conflicts) or with students (12 percent). Most of the administrators contacted foresaw a rapid growth of incidence of conflicts with students and community groups. The major areas of conflict in order of frequency at the time of the study were: racial integration, student unrest, internal communication, professional bargaining, acquisition of funds, quality education for blacks, sex education, and teacher strikes.

Conflicts that reached the crucial stage usually resulted in some modification of the organizational structures of the school systems. Those groups opposing the school administration in conflicts attained their goals more often than did the administration.

Studies of influence in decision-making were conducted in two (100,000 plus students) urban school systems. The research staff found that middle management (principals and supervisors) had the least influence on the decision process in the two large school systems studied. Teachers had some influence in the decision process through their organizations and negotiations but their influence was usually limited to salaries, working conditions, and grievance procedures.

Over 45 percent of those persons seen as most influential in decision-making in the two urban school districts were not members of the school boards or employees of the board. This is significantly different from the findings in other studies indicating that "bureaucrats" dominate decisions in large urban school systems.

Studies of decision-making in one of the large urban school organizations demonstrated that lack of effective communication often contributed to organizational failure. School officials expressed much concern with the problems associated with inadequate communication.

As a part of this project, a national study was made of policies for dealing with student activism and unrest in urban school districts. Replies were received from 68 of the largest school districts in the nation. Half of these districts reported having developed policies for dealing with student conflicts. Eleven of the districts were in the process of developing policies. The remaining twenty-three districts did not have and were not planning to develop formal policies to deal with student militancy. Those districts having written policies to deal with student conflict had developed them after student unrest had developed in their systems.

An extensive review of research about teacher militancy indicated great increase in teacher vs. administration conflicts. This is particularly true of large urban school systems. A study was conducted to develop a scale to measure potential militancy and potential non-militancy among teachers. This study indicated that the scale used was of questionable value in predicting teacher militancy and non-militancy.

Summary, Conclusions, and Implications

The increasing size and complexity of urban school organizations are forcing consideration of numerous patterns for decentralization. The studies of urban schools, undertaken in this project, indicated that much administrative energy was directed toward social and political conflicts with community groups. Conflicts with teacher organizations are increasing in frequency and intensity. The traditional organizational structure has failed in many instances to cope with the socio-political demands of urban communities. This may result in the disproportionate use of resources to deal with school-community and employee conflicts rather than toward the improvement of educational opportunities for children and youth.

The studies of conflicts or confrontations in five selected urban school districts indicated that, in some instances, the traditional organization either contributed to the intensity of conflict or did not function to reduce the degree of conflict. The writers do not mean to imply that conflicts should be (or could be) eliminated. However, there is indication that the intensity of conflicts in many urban school districts may be diverting too much of the energy of school administrators, teachers, community groups, and possibly students away from the primary goal to provide quality educational programs.

The data collected as a part of this project and the review of literature suggest the need either to consider very extensive changes in the organizations of urban school districts or the need to adopt new organizational models based upon concepts different from the traditional bureaucratic organization. There is need for a system that is more flexible and more responsive to community leaders, parents, teachers, and other interested persons. There is need for the development of organizations that will optimize communication and opportunity for participation in decision-making.

The alternative models of school district organization, discussed in the final report for this project, may provide stimulation for educational leaders in seeking better school district organization. The writers do not contend that these are the only alternatives possible. These alternatives obviously have different degrees of feasibility for different urban areas.

The staff for this project believes that the organizations for large urban school districts cannot be satisfactorily restructured unless additional resources are made available to these districts for organizational development. To accomplish genuine reorganizations, as opposed to the usual process of tinkering or of minor improvisions, will require large investments of resources for study and analysis, consultative assistance, inservice training, trial of new staff positions, implementing technical aids, and other investments. At the present time most urban school systems are compelled to use resources available for maintaining existing arrangements and survival activities.

The staff for this project recommends that the federal and state authorities give immediate attention to providing funds specifically designated for the trial of different organizational models for school districts. While priority should be given to the expenditure of these funds for reorganizing urban school districts, some resources might also be directed toward the reorganization of small and medium size school systems.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND PROCEDURES FOR STUDY

The city became the focus of attention in education during the 1960s. The concerns of small rural communities were overshadowed by problems in the cities such as civil rights, unemployment, crime, urban renewal, finance, and education. These, and other urban concerns have been compounded by the rapid increase in urbanization characterizing American society by the post-war explosion in the birth rate and by the ever increasing mobility of the citizenry. The established social institutions which characterize city life are experiencing a period of intense stress as a result of the rapid changes occurring in society. The educational systems of the large cities have had severe demands placed upon them. Further, the value placed by society on a longer and higher quality education program for the nation's youth has added to the strain upon the education systems of the cities. In this context, then, the success or failure of urban school systems in adapting to today's pressures is indeed an issue crucial to the national welfare.

Criticism of the public school systems of America's largest cities abound in both professional and lay publications. Frequently the accusations center around the failure of the school systems to adapt their programs to meet the needs of a constantly changing clientele. A common explanation for this failure has been the organizational structure of the metropolitan school systems. For example, Havighurst (1968), in examining many of the criticisms, found that most critics of urban schools concentrate upon the failure of what is usually referred to as the establishment. According to Havighurst the establishment consists of the educational administrators or "bureaucrats" who are supported by the political leadership of the cities and middle class oriented leaders.

Some writers, in describing the same phenomenon, have characterized the administration of large metropolitan school systems as "sick bureaucracies" or "rigid inflexible bureaucratic structures." These critics contend that many large city school systems are so insulated from the general public that they might be referred to as closed systems.

Many of the power struggles reported in the press come about as a result of frustration experienced by persons and groups in dealing with these bureaucracies. Consequently much is written about organized efforts to gain control of the schools. In the introduction of *Reconnection for Learning: A Community School System for New York City*, a study by Bundy (1967, p. 1) recommending reorganization of the New York City Public School System, the following statements appear:

> We have met men and women in every interested group whose spoken or unspoken center of concern was with their own power—teacher power, parent power, supervisory power, community power, board power. We find that the school system is heavily encumbered with constraints and limitations which are the result of efforts by one group or another to assert a negative and self-serving power against someone else.

The monocratic bureaucratic structure extolled by Weber (1947) in the latter part of the nineteenth century was a great improvement over the organizational structures that had evolved from a feudalistic social system in an agrarian society. The advancing industrial revolution, which produced complex industrial organizations, required a rational organizational theory providing for division of labor, specialization of training, and coordination of the enterprise by administrative leaders chosen on some basis other than by charisma, inheritance, or political favoritism. Weber's model, which emphasized a rational structure based on an appropriate division of labor, a logical hierarchical structure for decision-making, and the selection of administrators at every level of the hierarchy on the basis of competency, brought order into industrial organizations and undoubtedly contributed greatly to their growth and productivity.

However, there have been many changes in the country during the twentieth century, especially since World War II. The nation changed from a labor intensive society in the eighteenth century emphasizing physical labor of men and animals to a physical capital intensive society in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Since 1950 we have emphasized production by people who require much higher levels of education and now we are moving into a human capital intensive society.

The management model advocated by Frederick W. Taylor in the *Principles of Scientific Management* (1911) in the early part of the twentieth century had already begun to lose popularity by the end of the first quarter of this century. It was generally rejected by progressive business and governmental organizations by the middle of the twentieth century. Taylor conceptualized the worker as being only the extension of a machine. He ignored the fact that the worker also belonged to one or more social systems that vitally affected his production. The limitations of Taylor's "principles" were clearly revealed in the studies conducted by Elton Mayo and associates at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company during the period 1927-1932. Mayo is generally considered as the founder of the "human relations" movement in business.

DeSpelder (1967) discussed four developments concerning traditional management procedures. He indicated that these developments have a direct bearing upon the continued use of traditional management procedures. The first development discussed by DeSpelder was the fact that the United States is experiencing formidable opposition from different political and economic systems. Second, the people are better educated today than in the past which provides thrust toward greater individual initiative and freedom. This results in questioning traditionally established social norms. Third, the rise in labor unions coupled with increases in the standard of living and governmental participation in the economy have provided employees greater influence upon management. Fourth, management is employing techniques that deal with the human problems of organization. DeSpelder suggested two strategies (participation and job-enlargement) to deal with these developments.

The human relations movement which was referred to earlier in this section had much influence upon management procedures. Human relations theorists were much more concerned with creating high morale and productive norms than they were with time studies and wage incentives tied to the piece-rate principle. One of the important functions of management was to create good working relations and high morale among personnel in the organization. High morale was believed to be associated with high rates of production.

The human relations approach apparently will not solve all of the critical problems arising from the monocratic bureaucratic structure. In fact, certain teacher groups consider the human relations approach as paternalistic and resent it. Getzels, Lipham, and Campbell (1968) wrote that many school organizations emphasize the attainment of organizational goals to the exclusion of the need dispositions of persons in the school system. Too much managerial emphasis is given to effectiveness and efficiency and not enough attention given to the feelings and desires of personnel in the organization. This leads to organizational shortcomings which contribute to personnel crises and empasses in collective bargaining procedures.

Numerous authors suggest that the lack of emphasis upon human relations is an inherent characteristic of complex bureaucracies. That is: the traditional bureaucratic organization demands dependency, subordination, and submissiveness rather than attending to the human feelings of personnel. Within recent years numerous scholars have advocated the use of collegial or pluralistic concepts to reorganize the schools.

Morphet, Johns, and Reller (1967) suggested a collegial concept of organization for educational institutions in which decision-making is widely shared by all members of the organization. Many other writers have supported this concept. However, an organizational model for large metropolitan school systems with well-defined roles and operating procedures that incorporate the collegial concept has not yet been developed.

The major emphasis of this project was to conceptualize models of administrative structures for large metropolitan school systems that would retain the desirable rationality of the traditional structures but also recognize that persons in the organization have individual personalities and need dispositions and are members of social systems that vitally affect their behavior.

Such models should have the properties of self-regeneration and the ability to change their outputs in accordance with the changing needs of their clientele and the requirements of their environments. These models would need to be conceptualized from social systems theory, communication theory, information theory, cybernetics theory, existing organizational theory, decision-making theory, and similar theories and concepts.

Statement of the Problem

This was a developmental study to define and describe alternative organizational structures and administrative roles that would cope with urbanization, social forces, and conflict. The emphasis was upon the practical application of concepts, action research, and field studies in a variety of areas related to school organization as opposed to basic research in a narrowly defined area.

The major problem was to conceptualize and describe alternative organizational structures for urban school systems. The major steps undertaken in the study were as follows: (1) to conceptualize, describe and develop alternative administrative structures for large metropolitan school systems; (2) to describe staffing policies for the different models; and (3) to conceptualize the organizational arrangement and procedures required for the resolution of organizational conflict, such as administrator, board member, and teacher conflicts arising from teacher militancy.

The subproblems were:

1. Identify and describe the existing patterns of large urban school organization and administration.

2. Describe and analyze the existing decision-making and communication processes in large urban school systems.

3. Describe and analyze the major conflicts (community, teacher, pupil) in large urban school systems.

4. Conceptualize and describe alternative structures of organization and administration for large urban school systems.

5. Conceptually test the alternative models.

Procedures

The design of this study rested upon a systematic arrangement of logical and empirical analyses. These procedures were designed to develop alternative organizational models for large metropolitan school systems. The systematic design of the project is graphically portrayed in Figure 1-1. The project was conducted according to phases that will now be discussed.

Phase I included the application of logical and empirical procedures for establishing theoretical bases for conceptual organizational models for large metropolitan area school systems. Data for the logical technique were generated from two sources of inputs. First, the research staff made an analysis of literature and research from educational administration, business administration, hospital administration, public administration, and selected readings from the social and behavioral sciences. Second, the research staff involved (and established dialogue with) outstanding scholars as consultants in analyzing and describing conceptual elements in theoretical organizational models.

Phase I also included data generated from empirical observations. The research staff conducted some empirical studies of large, complex school organizations and involved outstanding practicing school administrators in study and analysis. The empirical inputs included studies on decision process, crucial issues, community participation, influential community leaders, communication (internal and

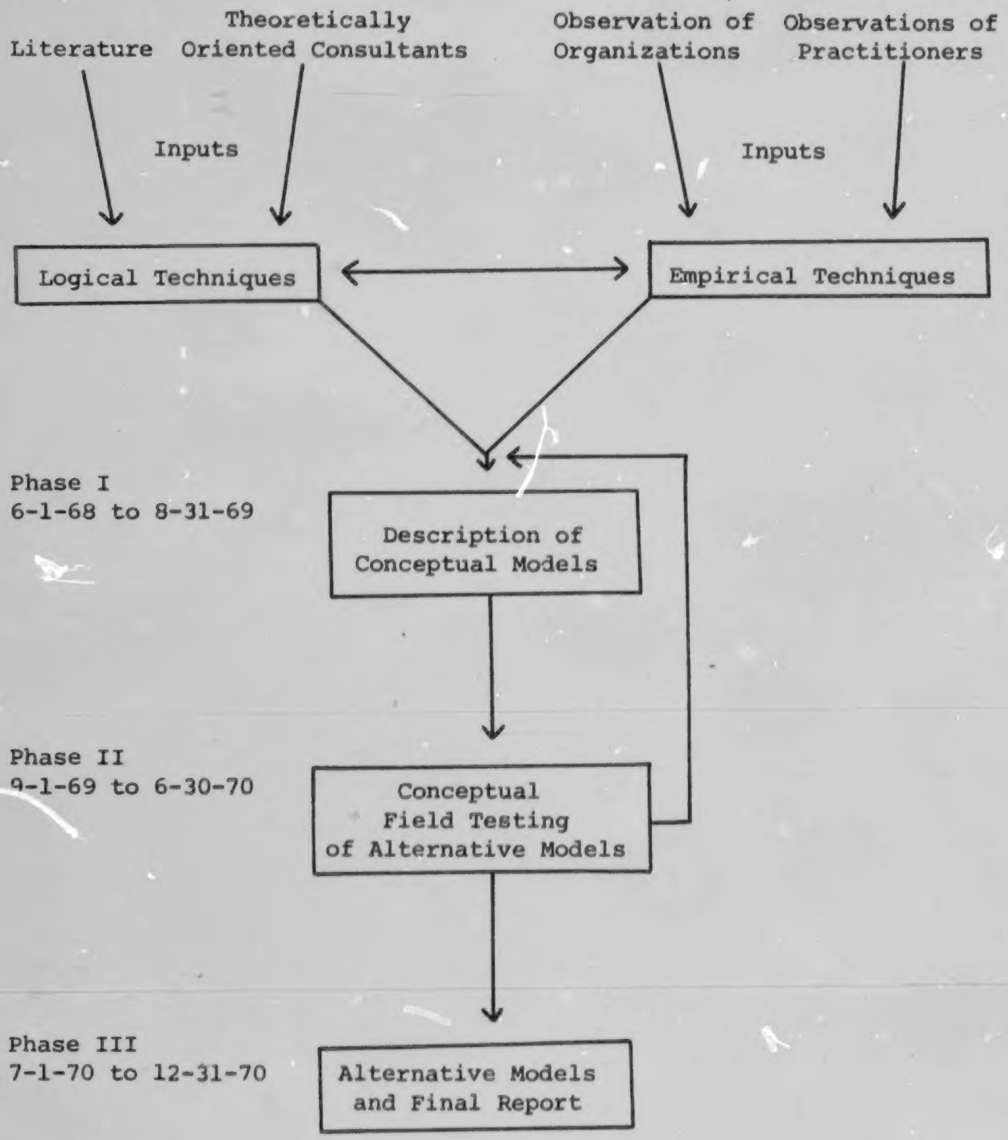
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Figure 1-1. Systematic portrayal of phases and procedures.

external), teacher attitudes, conflicts (student, teacher, community, and administration), policy on student control, and impact of federal funds. Eighty-two of the larger (50,000+ pupils) school systems in the nation were surveyed by a questionnaire to determine their present organizational structure. The research process for each substudy will be described in the chapters in which the data are reported.

The staff is indebted to numerous large, urban school systems for their contribution to this project. Field investigations were conducted in seven of these districts. Practicing administrators in the participating systems were frequently used as consultants. The systems were also used for conceptual field testing of the proposed organizational model in Phase II.

Phase I was conducted over a period extending from June 1, 1968, to August 31, 1969. This produced background data to use in the development of alternative conceptual models.

The staff used the theories of outstanding social scientists and administration theorists in discussing the organization and administration of large complex school districts. The concepts from other large fields of administration (i.e., hospital, business, and public administration) were studied.

In Phase II (see Figure 1-1) the alternative organizational models were conceptually field tested using two processes. The alternative models of organization were written and duplicated. Appointments were set up for seminar discussions with administrators of selected urban school systems. Copies of the materials were sent in advance and distributed by the superintendent of schools to selected members of his staff. This gave opportunity for study of the materials by the participants prior to the staff visit. In the university seminars, the materials were distributed to professors, students, and administrators of school systems in the area. The universities included Ohio State University, New York University, Indiana University, State University of New York at Albany, Syracuse University, Boston University, University of Minnesota, Wayne State University, and the University of Florida. The models were also presented and discussed at professional meetings (i.e., University Council for Educational Administration, American Association of School Administrators, National Council of Professors of Educational Administration). The participants in these discussions at the conferences reacted to the various models and offered suggestions for change. The changes were incorporated in four successive working papers. The participants in these seminar discussions included:

University Professors	154
University Graduate Students	180
Administrators of State Departments of Education	42
Administrators of School Districts	146
Other (citizens, board members, etc.)	40
Total	562

The staff analyzed projected consequences of the simulated applications as a means of revising the models and making them applicable to administrative requirements of large metropolitan school systems. Those ideas for projected models which did not appear from the discussions to be fruitful avenues for development were abandoned.

Phase III, as indicated in Figure 1, consisted of writing the final report for the project using the data gathered in Phases I and II. Copies of the final report were sent to the following groups:

- Superintendents of 82 large urban school districts
- Chief State School Officers
- Department Chairmen of Educational Administration in major universities
- United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Copies were mailed to those requesting them as the supply lasted

Review of Literature and Related Research

A comprehensive review of literature is not presented as a separate section but it is incorporated in the five sections of the report. General background references are included in the design of the study. References and research on decision-making, organization, communication, and participation are discussed in Chapter II. Literature about student and teacher militancy is discussed in Chapter III. The historical development of the bureaucracy is presented in Chapter IV. Literature concerning the concept of pluralism is a part of Chapter V. This organization of the literature seems appropriate in view of the different subjects incorporated in the project.

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CHAPTER II

SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Within the decade of the sixties the literature on the administration of urban school districts has increased several fold. Some of the literature is based upon opinion, but a number of research studies have been conducted. Prescriptive literature and research studies concerning urban school districts are discussed in this chapter.

Field research was conducted by the project staff in several large urban school districts. From this research the staff described the issues of urban education, the decision process, the communication process, and some effects of policies and structure upon the attainment of educational goals. The results of these studies will be described in this chapter.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 began a new era in education in the United States. The staff was interested in the effect of this new input upon urban school district organization. The effect of federal funds on the organizations of two large school districts was the object of one study. This analysis was based upon documents, changes in school district organization and the perception of school personnel and community leaders.

An analysis of teacher attitudes in militant and non-militant school districts is presented in the final section of this chapter. A scale was developed to measure the extent of teacher militancy. This scale was tested in two urban school districts.

The Historical Development of U. S. School Districts

Education is considered legally to be a function of the states. Forty-nine of the states carry out this function through local school districts. Hawaii has a single district for the state.

School districts are units of the state government with the status of quasi-corporations, created by the states for local organization and administration of the educational function of the state. The districts are controlled by a governing board and have taxing power, the right to make contracts, the right to sue and be sued. The districts are responsible for implementing state law and policy and developing and implementing educational policy congruent with the state law and policy.

The earliest unit or form of school governing agency in the colonial United States was the township in Massachussetts with its town meeting and citizen participation. As the settlers moved into the surrounding woodlands the townships developed their own schools, and the district form of school organization was begun. The early districts were without legal status and the power to tax. The State of Massachusetts legalized the district system in 1789 and delegated to the districts power to tax for school needs in 1801.

As the frontier moved West, the district type of school organization became the practice in the Midwest, Far West and Northwest.

The basic unit of government in the South was the county, rather than the town or township, and many of the school organizations developed parallel with the existing county structure. The Church of England, with its structure more centralized than the Puritan churches in New England, was strong in the South, and this may be one basis for the larger centralized district structure in the South. This practice spread westward along the southern coast of the United States, and in recent years has been adopted in a few other states, including Utah and Nevada. As they grew in population, most of the southern states permitted cities to organize as separate school systems, often surrounded by the county district.

Intermediate units of administration were developed in some states to assist the many small local districts. These are of three major types: (1) In twenty-six midwest and western states, the intermediate unit is usually the county; (2) In New York the Board of Cooperative Educational Services is essentially an intermediate unit; and (3) In the New England area the supervisory unions provide a means of district cooperation. The current trend is for intermediate units to be based on considerations other than county lines.

School districts, when defined in terms of scope, are of five types: (1) elementary; (2) secondary; (3) unified; (4) college; and (5) nonoperating (Campbell, et al., 1965). When school districts are classified by geographic characteristics, the following types are found: (1) city; (2) county; (3) town or township; (4) common; (5) city-county; and (6) independent (Morphet, et al., 1967).

The growth of school districts increased until 1932, when the number began to decline due to reorganization and unification of the small districts. The trend since 1932 is shown in the following columns which were taken from reports prepared by the Research Division of the National Education Association.

School Year	Number of Districts
1931-1932	127,244
1941-1942	115,384
1951-1952	70,093
1955-1956	57,000
1961-1962	35,076
1965-1966	26,561
1966-1967	23,335
1967-1968	21,890
1968-1969	20,268
1969-1970	18,904

District reorganization has usually been accomplished under the authorization of "permissive" or "semipermissive" state legislation. The primary purpose of reorganization has been to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the educational program. The permissive nature of state legislation has continued the pattern of local decision-making in educational matters and has slowed the process of reorganization.

Some of the larger urban school districts have been subdivided on the basis of geographic and/or grade level lines. Again, this has been done for efficiency and effectiveness of the educational programs as some of the larger districts were considered too large for single organizational control and local participation.

The increase of state and federal participation in education is creating special organizational problems. Some districts are by-passing the states and dealing directly with the federal government. As states are supplying more of the financial resources of the school district, the state is also increasing its participation in school decisions.

The historical development of school districts demonstrates to the school administrator how, and often why, the existing patterns have emerged. From the developmental patterns, projections can be made for the future. According to some authorities, the number of school districts will continue to decrease—Some predict three to five thousand. The federal government will have an increasing influence on school districts and their educational programs. States will probably increase their influence in financing and control. Hawaii currently has a unified state school system. Increased state financing may cause other states to consider this pattern.

Although the general trend has been toward the consolidation of school districts, the conditions in the large urban school districts are resulting in discussions of decentralization. Much of the recent literature about school district organization in the large cities has dealt with the administrative problems associated with large size. Thus numerous proposals have been made to decentralize the operation so that size can be reduced or eliminated as a factor causing organizational ineffectiveness. The following section is devoted to a review of the literature concerning organizational decentralization of urban school districts.

Review of Selected Literature on Large District Decentralization

In the past few years educators in the metropolitan areas of our country have experienced problems of major proportions. The purpose of this review is to discuss the role that decentralization plays, or might play, in helping to resolve the growing organizational predicament that these school systems face.

Decentralization is the result of changing times. It is not the fabrication of a few educators. Cunningham (1970) wrote that decentralization is a spin-off of deep-seated and far-reaching problems in the larger society—problems that have to do with powerlessness, alienation, and distrust of all institutions on the part of everyone, not just young people. He said that because of this distrust education must become an entirely new ball game. He contended that it would be played in the arenas of local design, under rules arrived at by the people involved with a repositioning of the primary responsibility squarely on the shoulders of parents, students, teachers, and local-level administrators.

On the other hand, Melby (1969) painted a somewhat terrifying picture of what decentralization of large city school systems really means. He wrote that Black Nationalists want to "freeze" boundaries of neighborhoods not allowing excessive crossing from one neighborhood to another. He spoke of decentralization as a danger but then proceeded to outline what changes administrators must make to accommodate it as though it were inevitable. He summarized his arguments for decentralization by suggesting that the people who have the problems should be given opportunity to participate in solving them.

James Farmer (1968) sees decentralization not as strictly an educational matter, but as a social trust. He feels that through decentralization and community control the black people can develop respect for their race and an identity of their own. He says that while integration is a value which should be the ultimate objective of our society, desegregation on a large scale is for the present virtually an impossibility because of demographic conditions within our cities. He envisions decentralization and community control as necessary forerunners of true racial integration.

Monahan (1967) pointed out that the ten largest school districts in America can expect future difficulties. These ten districts in 1966-1967, enrolled 3.7 million students and employed a professional staff of over 150,000. Monahan suggested that, even when their great size alone was considered, these districts still face immense problems.

Decentralization is one of the solutions that has been suggested to help alleviate some of the problems the large metropolitan school systems are encountering. According to the staff of the National Education Association Task Force on Urban Education (1969) many writers emphasize efficiency and responsiveness in attempting to suggest ways to reorganize education. Some of those who perceive complex bureaucratic organizations as detrimental to the development of education in large cities believe that more authority should be returned to individual schools. Achieving local control over education is seen as providing greater flexibility in meeting the educational needs of students.

Perhaps education could, or should, look to business and industry for some clues about reorganization. Thackey (1969) pointed out that during the past 40 years many large corporations have decentralized in order to create smaller, manageable companies. This was mainly because of the growing complexity of the marketing process. Those administrators in central offices of large corporations were not able to keep informed about changes in the marketing process. Therefore, control in the central office of the corporations was decentralized and greater authority for decision making given to lower ranking executives in the corporations.

Descriptions and definitions of decentralization come in many shapes and forms. The staff of the American Association of School Administrators (1958) described it very well. They termed it an intergrated organization. In describing it the Association staff (1958) stated that the delegation of administrative authority and responsibility is on a geographic basis rather than on a departmental basis. A city adopting the integrated organization would be divided into geographic areas. District or area superintendents would be appointed to administer the secondary and elementary schools in each of the geographic regions. The AASA report further stated that the district superintendent would coordinate the activities of auxiliary service personnel in his area. This integrated organization was believed by the AASA study group to have several advantages. Advantages mentioned in the report were: (1) better coordination and articulation of the educational function; (2) greater possibility of innovation and experimentation; and (3) fosters the development of leadership in the regions rather than dependency upon members of the central staff. As will be seen later in this report many large urban school systems have adopted some form of regional decentralization and many more are considering such a move. Size appears to be an important factor in decisions to consider some form of decentralized organization.

When the organizational patterns of a district are changed, the change from familiar organizational patterns with well-defined authority, policy procedures, and responsibilities to unfamiliar decentralized organizational patterns with untested lines of authority and responsibility and unstated or divergent policies and procedures, tend to cause fears and anxieties on the part of all groups affected (Featherstone, 1968). James Redmond (1968, p. 165) discussed his experience in decentralizing the Chicago School System. He observed that decision-making in the hands of a few persons tended to destroy initiative at the lower levels of the organization. This conclusion has also been reached by other persons.

Featherstone and Hill (1969) suggested that the process of decentralization was too complex to be accomplished in a short period of time. They felt that several years will be required in order to accomplish functional decentralization. Moreover, they warned against attempting to accomplish decentralization by edict without much participation of personnel in the organization. They recommended that much be invested in inservice training and that opportunity be given for wide participation in the planning of organizational change from the centralized to decentralized basis. Lack of attention to training, participation in decision making, and lack of time for these may result in failure to accomplish a decentralized plan that functions well.

Decentralization models, at least to some degree, have been put into practice. Redmond (1968) gave a two-year running account of the problems he faced as the superintendent of schools for the City of Chicago from October of 1966 through November of 1968. The decentralizing of the Chicago school system was chiefly the result of a report by management consultants appointed by the school board for the purpose of making a study of the organization of the Chicago school systems. The report called for a deputy superintendent under the general superintendent with three associate superintendents reporting to this deputy. Under the plan twenty-seven area superintendents would report to the three associate superintendents. Redmond felt that this was about the only feasible structure under which to operate, but that all was not running smoothly and much controversy existed over the entire system. He strongly emphasized that with time and adequate financing these problems would be ironed out.

Bundy (1967) led a group which studied the schools of New York City. Although much of the study centered on curriculum-related matters, the organization of the system came under close scrutiny. They found that the groups who expressed an interest in education (teachers, parents, boards of education, administrators) were chiefly concerned with the power which they were able to exercise over policy decisions. They concluded that reorganization of the organizational structure was necessary. Bundy's team recommended decentralizing decision-making authority and responsibility. They cited a need for participation in decision-making and closer control at the local level. A major conclusion of the study (Bundy, pp. 2-3) dealt directly with the problem.

> As we have come to see it, the fundamental purposes of a plan of decentralization must be to liberate the positive energies of all concerned. Parents, teachers, supervisors, and district administrators all need constructive authority. We are further convinced that increasing the role of one party (and we are emphatic that real participation implies a real share of authority and responsibility) does not imply robbing other parties. There is an imbalance of power in the system, but the sum of the powers today is a compound of negatives.

Featherstone and Hill (1968) point out some of the weaknesses of the Bundy Report. They felt that it was a plan in isolation from the other services related to education and provided by other governmental agencies. They suggested that the report assumed that reorganization and decentralization must relate to geographical boundaries describing segments of the city without giving consideration to the possibility that learning units within a school system could be organized on the basis of a social policy. They further pointed out that a central board of control with a central service agency may be necessary in order to maintain a balance of economy, efficiency, and effective educational programs. The New York City report might have engendered less opposition if it had stressed some positive aspects of the existing system. All of New York City is not a ghetto, and literally millions of persons have an interest in the continuance of many educational patterns which they believe serve them well.

Another study of urban education was conducted by Passow (1967) in Washington, D.C., in 1966. The recommendation for improvement of existing conditions in that city was organizational decentralization. Two reasons for doing so were offered—first, providing for an organization to improve teaching and learning and second, decentralizing control for better communication and more parent and citizen involvement. The report stated (Passow,p. 72): "What [illegible] indicated is a series of bold steps to rearrange the decision-making structures and procedures in order for the system to become more responsive to the problems and needs of the students and of the community response to the question of who should make basic decisions about the school system." Passow found that many people expressed a lack of confidence in the school board. There were two exceptions to this view. These exceptions dealt with budget determination and location of new schools. Differences in these two areas were found between attitudes of black and white citizens. In addition, community leaders felt that they had very little access to the school administration and the board.

In assessing the effectiveness of decentralization the writers of the Washington report stated that the major problem had been the failure of the administration to delegate responsibility and authority. Two other problems concerned the fixing of responsibility and the involvement of parents and citizens in particular areas of the educational process.

Gittell and Hollander (1968) conducted a comparative research study of the school systems of Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. The analysis of participation in decision-making was confined to school boards, teacher's organizations, community, and government officials. They found: (a) that those cities which had stronger school boards more closely approximated closed systems than those with weaker school boards; (b) that the degree of openness, as measured by public influence in decision-making was directly related to innovation; (c) that the degree of participation and the role of the participants varied in relationship to the issue analyzed; and (d) that insulation of public educational decision-making was a result of bureaucratic centralization. They saw bureaucratization and centralized control of decision-making as resulting from large size and the vested interests of educators.

In conclusion Gittell and Hollander (1968) observed that public education in the cities they studied had become unresponsive to the citizenry. In fact they referred to the schools as the most nonpublic of governmental services. According to them decision-making in the urban schools has been removed from the teachers, parents, and other personnel who are closest to the individual school and students.

Gittell and Hollander further criticized the schools for abandoning the concept of accountability. They viewed public school decision-making as being dominated by a small core of professional educators in the upper echelons of the bureaucratic organization. These findings led Gittell and Hollander to conclude that too much power has been centralized in the central staff offices of many urban school districts.

According to this conclusion decentralization is a means of getting education back on the course of democratic ideals from which it was instituted. Whether decentralization will facilitate democratic ideals in the organization and administration of large city school systems remain to be seen.

An NEA *Educational Research Circular* (1969, p. 1) was devoted to describing various degrees of decentralization that had been put into practice or were in the planning stage at that time. Types of partial decentralization were divided in to the following categories:

1. Decentralized decision-making.
2. Decentralized administration.
3. Decentralized administration and services.
4. Experimental administrative decentralization.
5. Decentralized administration and community participation.
6. Decentralized administration, services, and community participation.
7. Experimental community control.
8. System-wide community control.
9. Systems planning administrative decentralization.

This report gave a brief description of specific systems that are operating or are planning to operate under each type of arrangement. The writers emphasized that no school system is operating under complete decentralization and community control and that it would be virtually impossible for one to do so.

The review of literature did not reveal much data on the issues faced by administrators of large school systems. Data are also needed concerning patterns of leader participation in decision-making. Two studies were designed by the staff for this project to provide data on these topics. The results of these studies will be discussed in the following section.

The Issues and Leaders in Two Urban School Systems

Two large (100,000 plus pupils) urban school systems were visited by eight interviewers to collect data on the significant issues faced and to identify and describe the process of participation by influentials and community citizens in educational decision-making. One of the school districts was located in the Midwest and the other in the Southeast. These were given the fictitious names of Northern School System and Southern School System. A two-step interview process using interview guides I and II (see Appendixes A and B), was used. Interview guide I was administered to the following sample in each school district.

1. Chairman and one additional member of the board of education.
2. Superintendent of schools.
3. Assistant school superintendents and a 5 percent systematic sample of all professional members of the central office and a 5 percent systematic sample of the supervisory staff members.
4. Principals, assistant principals and a 5 percent systematic sample of the facilities of three high schools, three junior high schools and three elementary schools.

In selecting the schools all schools in the two systems were classified as core city (or inner city), transitional, and suburban (or outer city). Three schools from each classification were selected. Core city schools were defined as schools with a nonwhite student enrollment of 50 percent or more and where 20 percent of the family annual income was less than $3,000. Transitional schools had a nonwhite population between 5 percent and 50 percent. The suburban schools had a nonwhite population less than 5 percent and less than 2 percent of the families reported annual incomes less than $3,000.

Thus all of the initial interviews with interview guide I were conducted with persons within the official educational establishment. These persons were asked to identify and discuss what they considered to be the most significant issues or critical decisions in the operation of schools and identify those persons that they had observed to be most influential in the attempted resolution of issues and in the making of decisions. They were also asked to identify informal groups and organizations which were influential in these issues. Information about the impact of federal programs upon organizations was also obtained and these results are given later in this report.

Interview guide II was used in interviewing each person who was named as influential in decisions by three or more persons in the initial interviews. The purpose of these interviews was to obtain information about the leadership processes in decision-making as viewed by those identified as very influential in the operation of the school systems.

Issues Identified by Respondents

Sixty-six persons were interviewed in Northern School System located in a large Midwestern city. Seventy-two persons were interviewed in Southern School System which was a large city school system in the southeastern United States. Of the forty-six issues cited in Northern City, only fifteen were significant enough to be named by three or more persons. Nineteen of the thirty-four issues in Southern City were named by three or more persons.

Table 2-1 identifies those issues considered to be most significant in Northern City as reported in a study by Frasher (1969). Those issues named by respondents in Southern City as reported by Trufant (1970) are shown in Table 2-2. There was considerable overlap in the kinds of issues identified in the two systems.

Issues and decisions in the racial desegregation of schools were outstanding in both systems. Both systems reported financial problems and issues. Population movements were the source of problems as were student unrest, faculty militancy, curriculum, reorganization problems, and other problems. Interestingly, the acceptance of federal aid was cited as a significant issue in Northern City but was not mentioned in Southern City.

Several of the issues in both systems were related to problems of racial desegregation. For example, in the Northern City a building moratorium was called in the hope that open housing would solve resegregation problems. Bussing versus the neighborhood schools was an important issue in Northern City. However, faculty desegregation was of higher importance in Southern City than in Northern City. One can say with certainty that issues involving the racial integration of schools was a very significant issue in both cities.

The most frequently named issue in Northern City was professional negotiations. The administrators and teachers of this school system had been through the unsettling conditions leading up to and including the adoption of a collective bargaining agreement. Student unrest was also discussed frequently in Northern City as was "teacher militancy." Neither of these problems was mentioned as significant in Southern City. Northern City

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TABLE 2-1

Frequency of Issue Citation in Northern City

Significant Issue	Number of Citations	Percent
Professional Negotiations	47	71
Bussing vs. Neighborhood Schools	26	39
Quality Education for Black Students	18	27
Millage Levy	17	26
University Study of Schools	13	20
Acceptance of Federal Funds	12	18
Student Unrest	12	18
Updating the Curriculum	9	14
Militant New Teachers	8	12
Building Moratorium	7	11
Reorganization of the Central Office	7	11
Specialists for Elementary Schools	5	8
Faculty Desegregation	4	6
Teaching Black History	4	6
School Boycotts	3	5

TABLE 2-2

Frequency of Issue Citation in Southern City

Issues	Number of Citations	Percent
Pupil Integration	48	67
Faculty and Staff Integration	39	54
Population Transition and School Overcrowding	23	32
Equal Educational Opportunity for Core and Disadvantaged	22	31
Teacher Salaries	15	21
$45 Million Bond Issue	14	19
Supply of Teachers	12	17
Pupils: Discipline, Dropouts and Attendance	11	15
Year-round School Plan	10	14
Lack of Materials and Supplies	9	13
New Programs and Curriculum Updating	9	13
Merger of Teacher Organizations	8	11
Communication	8	11
Community and Parent Participation	7	10
Promotion and Transfer Policies and Procedures	7	10
Adequate Financing	6	8
Location of New Facilities	3	4
Staff Utilization	3	4
Attacks on Central Administration	3	4

was experiencing school disruptions during the time of this study. These disruptions were associated with the racial issues.

The fact that many of the issues and problems mentioned most frequently were not curriculum and instruction centered may be of some significance. One gains the impression that the administrators of urban school systems are entangled with social and political problems as opposed to centering attention upon problems and issues associated with the growth and development of students.

Many of the issues identified in these two systems would probably be identified in studies of other urban schools of the United States. They might be phrased differently and have different priorities among the cities.

Persons Viewed as Most Influential in Decisions

The analysis of leadership in decision-making in Northern City and Southern City produced interesting data. All of the persons mentioned three or more times as having influence on any issue or decision were interviewed by use of interview guide II (Appendix B). Those leaders who were perceived to have the greatest influence were subdivided into nine categories.

These categories were board of education, office of superintendent, central office administration, supervisory staff, middle management, teachers, economic leaders, political leaders, and community specialist leaders. Most of the categories of educators are self-explanatory. Two may need explanation. Included in the office of the superintendent category were the school superintendent and assistant superintendents who were seen as influential. The central office administration included administrators below the assistant superintendent level. Middle management included principals and assistant principals.

The community leaders were subdivided into the economic, political, and specialist categories. This was an adaptation of the method used by Presthus (1964). In this case the categories excluded schoolmen who were included in the categories discussed previously. The economic type leader is one who does not hold elective public office and who derives his influence largely from his position in the economic sector of the city. Political type leaders were not employees of the school system and derived their power primarily from their ability as politicians or from holding elective public office (excluding the board of education). The specialist category was a residual category for all community leaders who could not be appropriately placed in the economic or political categories.

Over 45 percent of the influentials in Northern City and Southern City were community leaders (i.e., economic, political, specialist) who did not hold positions in the school systems. This differs significantly from the Gittell and Hollender (1968) study.

The breakdown of leaders by categories for both school districts appears in Table 2-3. Several significant findings are reflected in the data. The fact that over 45 percent of the influentials were not board members or employees of the board is important. Numerous writers have indicated that citizen participation through the complex bureaucracies was extremely difficult. More board members were seen as influential in Southern City than in Northern City. Southern City had a nine member board. Seven elected members of the board were in the influential rank. The Board attorney was included in this category as an influential also.

Interestingly, an equal number of persons were in the influential ranks from the superintendency and central office categories of the two systems. Only four persons were seen as influential from the supervisory and middle management categories. Somewhat surprising was the small number of teachers seen as influential. This may or may not change much with the change to collective bargaining procedures. In collective bargaining those teachers who are the bargaining agents will likely retain most of the teacher power and they will be few in number in comparison to the many teachers in cities.

Among the community leaders the specialist category was predominant and this requires further discussion. Many of the leaders in this category were from the black community. Among these were ministers, civil rights workers, newspapermen, college administrators, and professors.

Another finding which is somewhat different from earlier studies of power and influence in city school administration is the increase in influence from the black community. Fifteen of the 37 most influential people in school decision-making in Northern City were black. One-half of the 38 most influential persons in the Southern City schools were black.

In the discussion to this point the analysis has dealt in numbers. Obviously, one person may have more influence in some decisions than ten other leaders. Thus a measure of relative power held by leaders by categories might prove interesting. During the interviews each leader was asked to rate all other leaders (see interview guide II, Appendix B). From these data an influence score was prepared for each influential. This one may get a very rough idea of the power held by leader categories through

TABLE 2-3

Distribution of Influentials by Influential Classification

Influential Classification	Number of Influentials Northern City	Number of Influentials Southern City	Total Both Systems	Percent of Total
Educators				
Board of Education	3	8	11	14.66
Office of Superintendent	2	2	4	5.33
Central Office Administration	7	7	14	18.66
Supervisory Staff	3	0	3	4.00
Middle Management (Principals)	0	1	1	1.33
Teachers	5	3	8	10.66
Total Educators	20	21	41	54.67
Community Leaders				
Economic Leaders	2	3	5	6.66
Political Leaders	2	4	6	8.00
Specialist Leaders	13	10	23	30.66
Total Community Leaders	17	17	34	45.33

adding the influence scores for leaders in each category. This will provide slightly better than a mere subjective ranking of power by categories.

Table 2-4 shows the power ranks by categories by adding the power scores held by all leaders in each category. The ranks by categories for both school systems are strikingly similar. The board of education and the office of superintendent were identified in both systems as the two crucial sources of power for decisions affecting the school district. The central office administrators and the economic leaders of the community were identified as the next most important systems affecting the decision process. The specialists and political leaders occupied the fifth and sixth categories in both systems, and the supervisory staff, middle management, and teachers represented the bottom three in terms of power in the decision-making process.

The data in Table 2-4 may be somewhat misleading because not all leaders participate in all issues. A part of each leader's influence score was obtained from reports of leadership in making decisions. If one person participated in only one decision, he would not be awarded as much influence as a person active in three issues. Specialist leaders may tend to participate in only those decisions in which they have a keen interest (i.e., school desegregation decisions). Thus their total impact upon educational policy might appear to be less than leaders who participate actively in a wide range of issues. Yet, these specialist leaders may be very influential in those issues in which they participate.

Organized Interest Groups

The influentials of Northern City and Southern City were asked to identify those organizations of which they were members. They were also asked to rank the organizations according to the impact they had in school decision-making.

Their rankings of organizations by influence are found in Table 2-5. The two school systems showed significant variations in which organizations were influential. Racial pressure groups (SCLC) and PTA's were perceived to be more crucial in Southern City while the Urban League, CORE and the local university were more crucial in Northern City. The Chamber of Commerce, local newspapers, and state legislature (both districts were state capitals) were seen as having minimal influence in both districts. There were no significant differences between the rating of educational or community influentials in either school system.

TABLE 2-4

Power Rank of Influential Categories

Influential Classification	Power Rank Northern City	Power Rank Southern City
Board of Education	1	1
Office of Superintendent	2	2
Central Office Administration	4	3
Economic Leaders	3	4
Political Leaders	5	5
Specialist Leaders	6	6
Teachers	7	8
Middle Management	9	7
Supervisory Staff	8	9

TABLE 2-5

Organization Rank in the School Systems

Organization	Northern City	Southern City
Board of Education	1	1
Teacher Organization	2	2
NAACP	3	7
SCLC	. .	5
University	5	. .
PTA	6	2
Religious Organizations	. .	8
Community Relations Council	. .	9
Black Pressure Groups	11	2
Urban League	4	13
Chamber of Commerce	9	11
Newspaper	10	9
HEW	8	12
CORE	6	15
State Legislature	13	13

Participation of Leaders in Decision-Making Process

Each leader interviewed was asked to describe two issues in which he participated. In describing what took place in regard to each issue, the influentials discussed the following questions:

1. Who initiated?
2. Who supported?
3. Who opposed?
4. Who provided alternatives?
5. Who provided information?
6. Who exercised the greatest leadership?

Their comments were checked with the documents and records of the issue. Table 2-6 and Table 2-7 were combined into summary statements of the data. Twelve issues were used as a basis of the analysis in each city. In order to show comparisons between cities in some instances the separate issues were combined into related issue areas. For example,the separate issues involving racial integration of schools were combined into one column to show comparative data on participation between cities. Three of the issue areas used were not mentioned in Northern City and two were not points of issue in Southern City. Lack of materials and supplies (issue 12) was discussed in Southern City. However, no evidence of leadership among those interviewed was present in this issue.

Tables 2-6 and 2-7 show whether leaders in each subsystem category either initiated (I), supported (S), or opposed (O) proposals which became the points of issues. Also indicated in these tables are the category locations of persons providing the strongest leadership (L) in each issue.

Similar patterns of participation were found in both systems. The supervisory staff, middle management and political leaders exerted the least number of inputs to the decision-making process. This does not mean that they had less input, but that they had fewer occasions to participate. This could be due to lack of interest or opportunity. The specialists leaders and the upper three levels of the school system hierarchy had the greatest number of inputs to the decision process. The specialist leaders were ranked as having the sixth greatest power (Table 2-4). Yet they received the greatest number of participation nominations (eighteen). The specialists leaders represent the least unified and most heterogeneous subsystem. In fact, they are not really a subsystem but, a group of persons who participate on the

TABLE 2-6

Type of Participation in Selected Significant Issues in Northern City

Subsystem Category	Significant Issues*											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Board of Education	S O	L O	S	L	I S L O	O	O	O	S			
Office of Superintendent	S O	S O	L S	L	L S	S O	S L	L O				
Central Office Administration	S L		S L O		S L	S L O	I S	L O				
Supervisory Staff		O	S		S	S O	I S					
Middle Management		O			S	L O						
Teachers	S O	I S L O	S		S	S L O	S L O					
Economic Leaders			I S L		S L O	S O	I S		S			
Political Leaders	O		O	S	S	O						
Specialist Leaders	I S L O	I S	I S L O	S O	S	I S L O	I S	I	I S L O		L S	

Note: I = Initiate Proposal; S = Support Proposal; O = Oppose Proposal; L = Strongest Leadership on Issue.

*(1) Racial Integration (Bussing, School Location, Resegregation, (2) Professional Bargaining (Salaries, Transfer Promotion), (3) Quality of Education for Blacks and Disadvantaged Students, (4) Integration of Faculty, (5) Acquisition of Funds for Operation, Construction and Special Programs, (6) Student Unrest, Discipline, Dropouts, Demonstrations, (7) New Programs and Curriculum Updating, (8) Reorganization of Central Office and Improved Communication, (9) External Study of School System, (10) Supply of Teachers, (11) Community and Parent Participation, (12) Lack of Materials and Supplies.

TABLE 2-7

Type of Participation in Ten Significant Issues in

Southern City

Subsystem Category	Significant Issues*											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Board of Education	S L O	I S L O	S L O	I L O	I S L	O		I S O			O	L O
Office of Superintendent	L O	L O	L O	L O	I S L	O	S L	L O				S
Central Office Administration		L O		L O	S L		I S L	O				
Supervisory Staff							L					
Middle Management						O	I					
Teachers		S O										S O
Economic Leaders	S L O	S L	L	L S		O						
Political Leaders	I S O		S	S	I							
Specialist Leaders	I S L	S	I S L	I		I S	O	I L			I S L	

Note: I = Initiate Proposal; S = Support Proposal; O = Oppose Proposal; L = Strongest Leadership on Issue.

*(1) Racial Integration (Bussing, School Location, Resegregation), (2) Professional Bargaining (Salaries, Transfer Promotion), (3) Quality of Education for Blacks and Disadvantaged Students, (4) Integration of Faculty, (5) Acquisition of Funds for Operation, Construction and Special Programs, (6) Student Unrest, Discipline, Dropouts, Demonstrations, (7) New Programs and Curriculum Updating, (8) Reorganization of Central Office and Improved Communication, (9) External Study of School System, (10) Supply of Teachers, (11) Community and Parent Participation, (12) Lack of Materials and Supplies.

basis of issues that interest them personally. The data show that the specialist leaders initiated proposals in issues very frequently in both city systems.

In nineteen instances in Northern City and seven in Southern City conflict among subsystem leaders was identified. That is, leaders within such subsystem areas as the board of education opposed each other on some issues. This developed six times at the board of education level, six times at the teacher category, and five times at the specialist leader level. This is an example of the lack of unity of these subsystems. In the case of issue number five in Northern City, for example, within the board were leaders who initiated, supported, and opposed proposals.

These data indicate that the bureaucratic structures are not as free from conflict as many have assumed. Considerable conflict was present in the board of education category of Southern City. Rather surprising was the fact that on three occasions conflict arose within the office of superintendent category in Northern City.

The basis of strongest leadership (L) moved from subsystem to subsystem depending upon the issue and the city. In Northern City the board of education seemed to be somewhat less influential than its counterpart in Southern City. The office of superintendent category was very influential among the subsystems in Southern City. Thus strongest leadership in issues tended to be more highly concentrated in the office of superintendent and board of education categories of Southern City than in Northern City. Leaders in the board of education category in Southern City initiated proposals in issues much more frequently than those in Northern City. The teachers showed up stronger in issues in Northern City than their counterparts in Southern City. In this connection the differences in bargaining arrangements could have been a factor. The teachers in Northern City had negotiated a working agreement with the board. Formal arrangements for collective negotiations did not exist in Southern City.

Supervisory personnel were accorded little leadership in decision-making in either system even though about 100 persons were in supervisory positions in Northern City alone. Traditionally supervisors have been trained to react as staff personnel in the line-and-staff organization. The supervisor's lack of leadership may reflect this tradition.

The fact that school principals did not have influence in the systems is a point of much concern. Some writers have speculated that principals may become the "forgotten men" of the large complex school organizations. Are school principals doomed to functionary roles in the decision-making process?

Data Concerning Individual Schools

As a part of this project Friga (1969) explored the use of general systems theory by analyzing interaction in three elementary schools in Northern City. For this analysis he selected an inner city (or core city) elementary school, a transitional elementary school, and an outer city elementary school. The criteria for core (or inner city), transitional, and outer city were given on page 16 of this chapter.

Friga found that the principal of the inner city school was more central to the interaction system than were the principals of the transitional and outer city schools. The inner city school had less well-defined subsystems than the other two studied. The faculty of the inner city school averaged less interactions per staff member than the transitional and outer city schools.

In the transitional elementary school the principal was involved in the smallest percent of direct and indirect interaction of the three schools studied. The interaction system in the transitional school was obviously influenced by the unique physical plant layout of the school. Although the principal was the central figure in the interaction pattern, there was greater balance in interaction among the faculty of the transitional school than was found in the other two schools.

The interaction system of the outer city school tended to coincide with the existing grade level organization. The subsystems within the interaction pattern had greater interdependence than was demonstrated in the inner city and transitional elementary schools.

A significant finding of the study was that interaction within the systems of the three school studied tended to focus upon the principals. The school principals were obviously in positions to influence activities within the systems. Thus in improving the organizational structure of urban school districts, Friga's findings emphasize the need to make concentrated efforts to improve the principal and to find ways to encourage his participation in planning and decision-making. Furthermore, wide differences were found concerning the extent to which the three principals were central in the interaction systems. In the inner city school the principal tended to dominate the system. This is consistent with the findings from other studies. Thus organizational restructuring should aim toward greater teacher participation among the schools than was demonstrated in the inner city school.

Wiles (1969) developed the Decisional Practices Inventory and used it to demonstrate that school administrators and teachers have different perceptions of desirable participation in decision-making. The instrument was used to obtain responses concerning approaches to decision-making in eighteen decision situations. Wiles' approach should be further explored as a means for bringing the organizational and faculty need disposition dimensions of individual schools into acceptable levels of congruency. To say that teachers and school principals should participate in planning and decision-making will not be realized in practice unless greater attention is given to role differentiation in the process.

Overview of Influence and Decision-Making

Throughout the interviews using interview guide I and interview guide II the staff was alert to information leading to a description of the decision-making process in addition to that already discussed. These data were used to answer several questions about the two school districts. What were the sources of influence in decision-making? How was influence distributed among the subsystem categories as presented and discussed earlier? Was power in decision-making monopolized by a few persons within the organization or were many forces present? Do leaders outside the school organization have influence upon educational policy?

Decision-making in Northern City School System more nearly approached a pluralism than the monocratic bureaucracy. The general tendency of the upper echelons of the organizational hierarchy was to react rather than act. Forces outside the school system tended to initiate proposals which were reacted to by the upper echelon administrators and the board. Very few of the proposals resulting in educational issues were initiated by leaders in the board of education, superintendent, and central office categories.

A pattern of decision-making somewhat different from Northern City was evident in Southern City. Leaders in the board of education category in Southern City tended to initiate more proposals than the board in Northern City. There was greater conflict in issues among the Southern City board category. The board of education and superintendent category leaders in Southern City appeared to maintain greater influence over finance and curriculum matters than in Northern City. Finally, while the Southern City regime was characterized by greater control and closure in some areas than Northern City, the Southern City system was not truly a monocratic bureaucracy. There was competition among most subsystem categories in Southern City so that it could best be described as a competitive regime. Like Northern City many of the issues in Southern City had been fueled by proposals from specialist type leaders who were not employees of the board. In many instances these were from the black community.

An Analysis of Communication in An Urban School District

During the fall of 1968, a case study was made of a large regional decentralized, city school district. A fuller discussion of the study may be found in a thesis by Jenkins (1970). The purpose of the study was to determine the origin, transmission, and consequence of selected items of communication. Additionally, an attempt was made to locate factors which were causations of blocking, filtering, and distortion of communication.

The design corresponded to Kerlinger's (1964) description of an exploratory field study. The principal investigator, assisted by four experienced co-investigators, actually "lived in" the school district for approximately three months. Contacts were made through casual coffee and luncheon sessions with over 300 persons. Structured interviews were held with another 111 persons. Ten communication items were selected for intensive analysis from a list of twenty-two items described. These ten items were traced from their source to the person or persons for whom they were intended.

The School District

The district providing the setting for the study was located in one of the larger metropolitan areas in the Southeast.

Originally a dual school system, it became an integrated system as a result of the 1954 Brown Court Decision. Integration had, however, caused an exodus of whites, and a percentage reversal of population by race had taken place as a result. At the time of the study the pupil population stood at 68 percent black and 32 percent white, and the system's instructional personnel was composed of 57 percent black and 43 percent white.

The economic setting for the study was one of relative affluency as compared to many other urban districts. The people of this city had supported the school system well during the decades following World War II.

Sociologically, the system suffered from the grave problems faced by most large urban districts: high mobility of population within the district, urban renewal, racial conflict (this was at a minimum), traffic congestion, central city deterioration (much of this had been revitalized with new housing projects and new commercial complexes), crime, vandalism, increased drug usage and its accompanying problems, change in tax source due to the white exodus, and other cultural, social, and economic problems that are so typical of the urban areas of high population concentration.

At the beginning of the decade of the 1960s, this school district was decentralized to accomodate the expansion of the city and the school system. Five administrative areas were established, each administered by an area superintendent. Other than the creation of those five areas, and the designation of particular schools within each area, there was no corresponding administrative decentralization of service functions. Thus the organization of the system would appear as shown in Figure 2-1.

The system was governed by an elected school board. At the time of the study that board was composed of six white businessmen, two black professional men, and one white housewife.

The superintendent of schools had occupied that office since 1960, and was an educator of long experience in urban systems. He preferred to look upon the system as "loosely structured and democratic." This was true to a point. However, some persons believed the lack of a tight structure and the looseness of administrative practice was the result of an evolutionary process which had preceded the existing superintendent. In spite of problems resulting from the rather flexible, collegial setting, the administrators at the central level were hesitant to tighten their administrative control for fear of stifling innovation and creativity. They also feared the loss of their own autonomy.

The central staff function was peculiar to that system in several ways. First, the finance officer, a comptroller, was the legal employee of the board alone. However, that officer functioned as though he were at the level of other assistant superintendents. Had he functioned otherwise, system frustration would have existed to a high degree. This situation was inherited from earlier administrations. The attitude appeared to be one of "letting sleeping dogs lie" insofar as the system functioned well informally. Secondly, the assistant superintendent of schools had no line authority, serving only in an advisory capacity. The office was recreated in 1967, and a black educator was placed in that position. Although described by the superintendent as "functioning in my absence," the functions of the assistant superintendent of schools were not well defined in practice.

Attempted integration of the races had posed an almost impossible goal under existing conditions. The entire system was in the throes of resegregation. The surrounding suburban and rural areas were easily accessible to those whites who worked in the central city, but either lived or wished to live in an all-white community. There has been an increasing exodus of white students and resignations of teachers, both black and white, in large numbers.

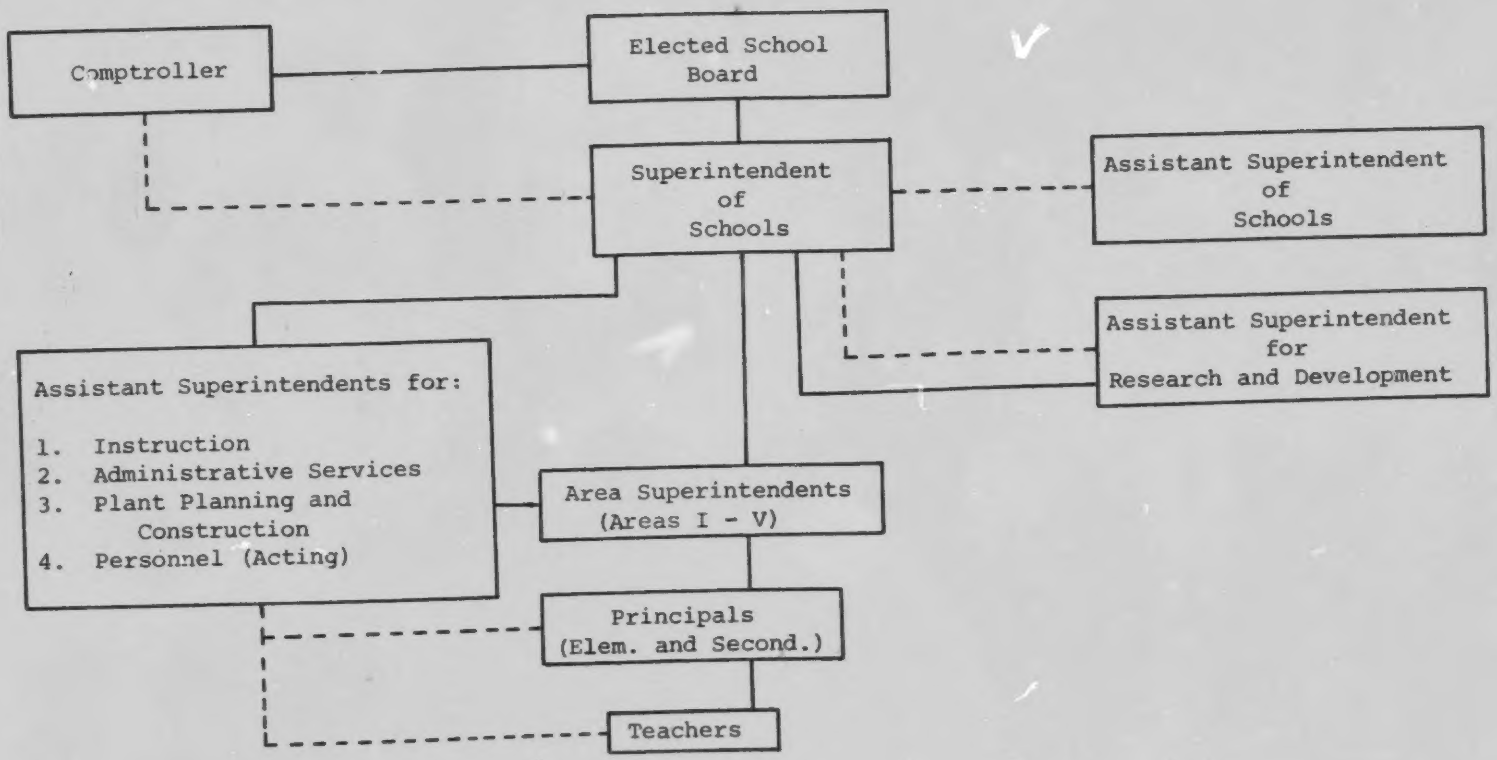
Comptroller
Elected School Board
Superintendent of Schools
Assistant Superintendent of Schools
Assistant Superintendent for Research and Development
Assistant Superintendents for:
1. Instruction
2. Administrative Services
3. Plant Planning and Construction
4. Personnel (Acting)
Area Superintendents (Areas I - V)
Principals (Elem. and Second.)
Teachers

Figure 2-1. Organizational chart for a city school system.

A third condition found within the central staff was the problem of communication among assistant superintendents and the assistant superintendent for research and development. The person occupying the office for research and development was a "super grantsman." Due to his prolific development and funding of various federal, state, and private projects, he was considered by the majority of the system's administrative personnel as an "unwelcome change agent." He was responsible solely to the superintendent, and due to his securing of an abundance of monies, he held high status with the board and the superintendent of schools.

The introduction of many new programs into the five areas, and the schools served by them, was the responsibility of the office of instruction and curriculum. However, the absence of tight system structure had allowed a high degree of autonomy to develop within each area office and within each school.

The area superintendents were in line directly responsible only to the superintendent of schools. A mutual dependency had developed between the superintendent and his area superintendents. And, the same dependency had developed between area superintendents and their principals. Thus, the implementation of new instructional concepts by the assistant superintendent for instruction was, at times, almost impossible. If an area superintendent declined to accept communicated information relative to particular instructional programs, he simply "tuned out" the communication. Part of the problem was, of course, the introduction of funded programs that would terminate in one or two years, leaving an area or a school with the task of revamping its curriculum and restaffing its personnel positions. Generally speaking, central staff administrative personnel depended almost entirely on a charismatic base of operations as the means of implementing staff decisions. The superintendent was quite hesitant to force decisions on his area superintendents—or they on their principals.

The personnel office was the source of much system frustration and conflict. This was due partly to area autonomy and partly to an apprehension existing relative to a possible future administrator of that office. A former director of personnel administered the office as an acting assistant superintendent; however, two trends of thought existed as related to the problem of placing an assistant superintendent over that department. One trend of thought saw the system patrons, largely black, as accepting only a black administrator in such an appointment. The other foresaw a decentralization of personnel services due to increased pressure from area superintendents in placing specific instructional personnel.

The five administrative areas were not comparable in race or socioeconomic composition; thus, their personnel needs were not the same. A common phrase used by persons within the system was "our 'antipersonnel' office."

The offices of administrative services and school plant planning and construction were not exposed to many of the administrative problems cited above due to the nature of their functions and the immediate need for their expertise and services by the rest of the system.

Communication Practices and Problems of the System

Communication in the system studied occurred within the cultural, social, and economic contexts as described above. In addition, communicative processes had become established as a result of system organization, administrative practice, and the philosophy of administrative personnel who had become structured themselves as a result of demand for conformity of operation.

The greatest single cause of communication failure was the previously mentioned autonomy of administrative units and levels. The crossing of those subsystem boundaries was almost entirely dependent on those within the original decisional area.

Implementation of decisions depended on the control of communications and the willingness of a person to initiate or receive communications. Thus, the speed or success of implementation depended on the speed or success of communication. Since those influencing the decisional area also had access to control of communications, the final implementation of decisions was dependent almost completely upon their wish to communicate or not to communicate with others. There was no formal systemization that could require accurate communication or an immediate response from intended recipients of communicated items.

The condition stated in the foregoing paragraph had set the stage for a constant use of verbalization between several members of the staff on any given issue at any given time. Minutes of staff meetings were not usually recorded. Notes of decisions were absent, and staff knowledge within the various departments concerning decisional implementation and communication was just as absent.

Cabinet meetings were usually conducted in the absence of an agenda, or an agenda provided only at the beginning of a meeting rather than at some time before the meeting. Since they had no forewarning to prepare for their support or opposition concerning decisional items, most staff members came to conferences unprepared for discussion or action on matters.

This system had an intrasystem mail delivery which, though quite effective and efficient, had become the scapegoat for lack of communication for any would-be recipient wishing to deny having received it. There were failures in the mail system due largely to human error, but these failures were not in the preponderant numbers one would be led to believe through talking with administrators.

Few systems have the various innovative programs in such numbers as the system studied; however, the attempt at implementation of those programs had caused an overlap of job definition areas. Therefore, insecurity existed in the minds of staff personnel as to "who" was to make "what" decision, and once made "who" was to communicate "what" and to "whom."

In summary, some of the important factors affecting organizational communication were:

1. The historical development of the cultural, sociological, and economic sectors in the school district. That is, communication within the school organization was influenced by traditional socioeconomic and cultural conditions within the school and community.

2. The mere size of the district alone was a significant factor in communication. For example, certain administrators might lose one-half days time in attending an hour long conference.

3. Various units within the organization (i.e., research and development and area superintendents) created important barriers to organizational communication.

4. The procedures for holding professional meetings were not conducive to effective communication in the organization.

5. Evolutionary, informal changes in job identity among members of the staff affected communication adversely.

6. The mass of printed matter sent from different officials of the organization overcrowded the official channels of communication.

7. Formal communication practices were not systematized resulting in widespread "secret sharing" of information among personnel. This also encouraged meetings which were often useless and repetitive.

The analysis revealed a number of possible implications which may be important for urban school organization. Some of these implications are stated below.

1. Continuing demands of ever-changing social forces will exert pressure for organizational change in the system and change in administrative control.

2. There is indication that the size of the district, in area and number of employees and pupils will continue to increase.

3. As the size and scope of the system increases, the autonomy of areas and service units will grow. The boundaries of those subsystems will become more difficult to penetrate and more system closedness will develop as a result.

4. If present cabinet meeting procedure continues, a lack of dependency on meeting action will occur and less attention will be given to decisions resulting from such meetings. Very likely that condition will push subsystems within the district further apart and intrasystem cooperation and communication will deteriorate.

5. The present dependency on casual verbalization creates "secret sharing." Such secret sharing encourages informal, or "grapevine" communication channels. Additional power enclaves may be established and competition between units and levels will become greater than at present.

6. The innovative programs in operation in this system are too numerous for the system, in its present organizational form, to operate or evaluate with any high degree of success. Continued innovation, as now practiced, will cause increasing resistance from areas of implementation and increasing blocking, filtering, and distortion of communication.

7. The absence of systematized communication encourages use of the "grapevine." Thus, rumor and conjecture will become more dominant than factual information. System and subsystem dysfunction will increase in both communication and in the implementation of decisions.

8. The congruency of a decision and its implementation through some type of communicative procedure depends on the access to control of communications; this is in the hands of too few persons. If they are absent, decisional communication is absent; "indispensable" offices are thus created. Those new actors entering

the system will learn to play this type of role and as a result communication dysfunction will be amplified and multiplied.

These implications of the study of internal communications indicate the importance of the organizational policies and structure. These were studied and the results are given in the next section.

Organization, Communication, and Policies in A Large Regional Decentralized School System

Many school systems grow into some form of decentralized organization with area superintendents. Considerable difficulty is usually encountered in defining the functional roles of area superintendents and central staff officials in these organizations.

The primary problem of a study reported by Zenke (1970) was to describe and examine the organizational structure of a selected decentralized urban school system in a southeastern state. This description and examination gave special attention to the following questions:

1. Were there certain administrative functions, roles, and responsibilities of the central office and the district offices for administration and supervision of educational programs, program planning and development, and administration of noninstructional services which might have been better dealt with at an organizational level different from the one that was responsible?

2. Did the channels of communication within districts, among districts, and between districts and the central office actually provide for effective communication?

3. Did board of education policies and system-wide administrative regulations and practices inhibit flexibility and creativity within the districts?

The data for this study were gathered by a member of the research staff functioning as a participant-observer in the selected school system. Data were gathered through the examination of available written records, employment of the observational approach, and the use of the interview technique. In view of the fact that this study was a descriptive investigation, the results were reported in narrative form.

In 1969-70, the central office of the school system had six departments, or divisions, under the office of the general superintendent of schools. These six departments, or divisions, provided instructional assistance and some noninstructional support services to the geographic districts. The six departments, or divisions, in the central office were: (1) the Division of Educational Planning and Services; (2) the Department of Administrative Services; (3) the Finance Department; (4) the Personnel Department; (5) the Physical Plant Department; and (6) the Department of Support Services.

There were six geographic districts serving specified geographical areas within the school system. A seventh district, the Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education District, served on a system-wide basis to meet the needs of the school system in the area of vocational, technical, and adult education.

The geographic district offices provided educational leadership and administrative direction for the elementary and secondary schools within their districts. The functions of the district offices were divided into the three following program areas: (1) district-wide management; (2) district-wide supervision; and (3) district-wide staff/program development. Each district superintendent was assisted by three directors who were in charge of the elementary and secondary schools within the district. In addition to the directors, each district superintendent was assisted by a staff of certificated personnel, below the level of director, who were assigned to the district office. The organizational chart for the selected school district is shown in Figure 2-2.

The Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education District staff provided vocational and technical training in all the high schools and also in one junior high school. In addition, the staff offered a general education program for adults and young people who had left the regular high school program. This district offered eleven major areas of training, with many sub-areas of training included within these eleven, in vocational,technical, and adult education. In 1969-70, there were over 65,000 adults enrolled in vocational and technical training programs.

There were a number of committees, or groups, which met regularly to discuss various matters of concern to the school system. Three major committees which met on a regular basis to deal with topics of major importance to the school system were the building committee, the administrative staff, and the administrative cabinet.

In examining the placement of functions, roles, and responsibilities, Zenke (1970) found that the general superintendent encouraged the individual district superintendents to take on more responsibility, but there were

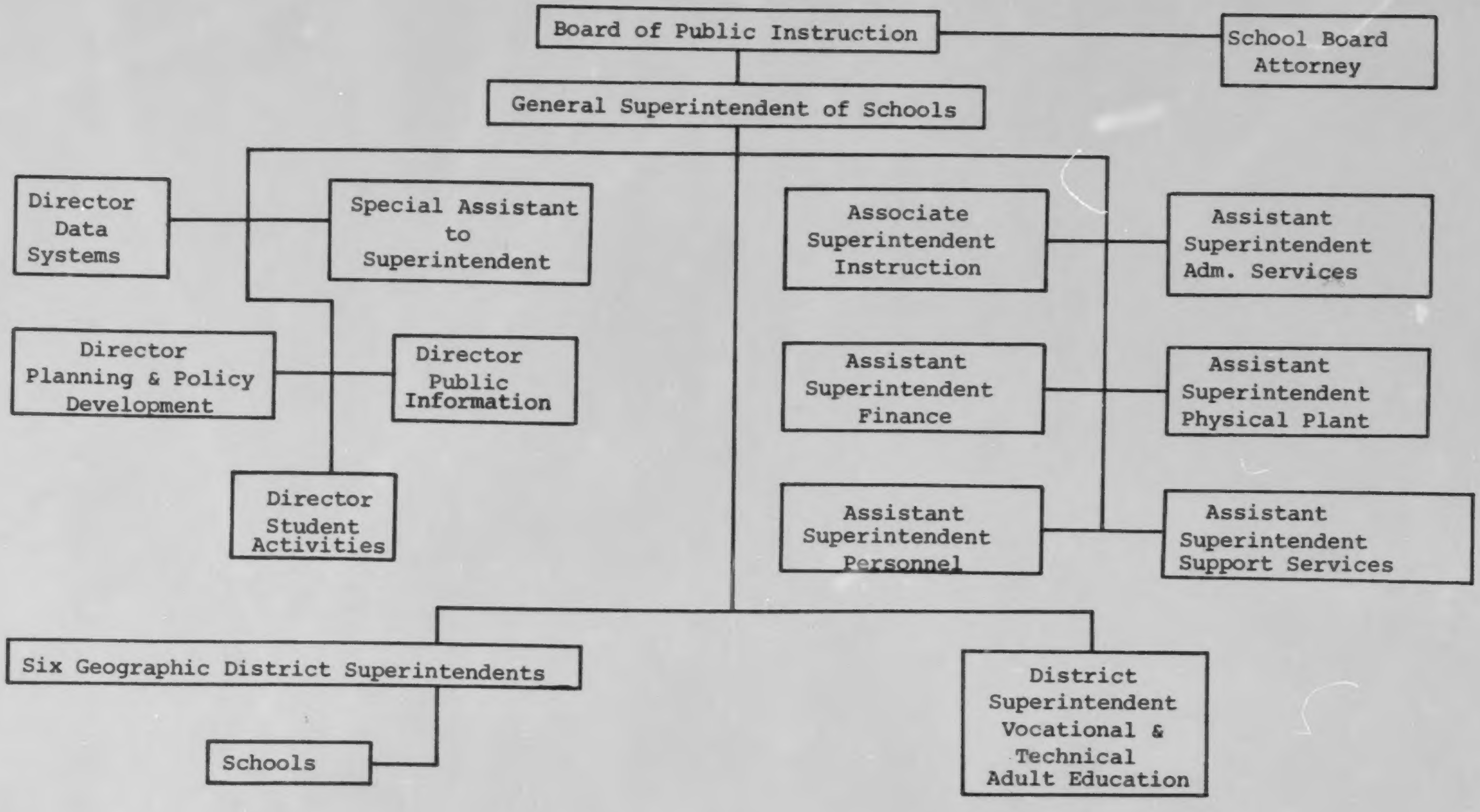
Board of Public Instruction
School Board Attorney
General Superintendent of Schools
Director Data Systems
Special Assistant to Superintendent
Director Planning & Policy Development
Director Public Information
Director Student Activities
Associate Superintendent Instruction
Assistant Superintendent Adm. Services
Assistant Superintendent Finance
Assistant Superintendent Physical Plant
Assistant Superintendent Personnel
Assistant Superintendent Support Services
Six Geographic District Superintendents
Schools
District Superintendent Vocational & Technical Adult Education

Figure 2-2. Administrative organization chart of the selected school system.

examples of a reluctance on the part of the district superintendents to accept additional responsibility. Moreover, the leadership of the school system was in the process of attempting to move many of the specialists, who were located in the central office in the Division of Educational Planning and Services, to the district offices so that they would be closer to the district offices where they were needed. Those persons in the noninstructional support service area were satisfied with the placement of noninstructional support services responsibilities, but felt that some of these services might be improved.

Interviews were conducted with the area superintendents to obtain their feelings about communication and the division of administrative responsibilities. A summary of their reactions are given below.

1. Those interviewed felt that the primary responsibility of the geographic district office staffs was to provide a quality educational program of instruction, and that the primary responsibility of the central office staff was to provide noninstructional support services and instructional consultant services to the district offices.

2. Although most persons expressed the view that the noninstructional support services were properly placed in the central office, some indicated that two of these services needed examination to see if they might not function more effectively. These two services were maintenance services and the processing of requisitions.

3. The response was unanimous that the channels of communication within the district offices provided for effective communication.

4. The district superintendents were divided in their responses concerning the effectiveness of the channels of communication among districts. Some expressed a desire for more communication while others said that they were satisfied with the exchange of information among districts.

5. Three of the district superintendents stated that they felt that the channels of communication between the central office and the district provided for effective communication. Two of the district superintendents said that they felt that the channels of communication might be improved. The sixth geographic district superintendent stated that he felt that too much communication was required between the districts and the central office. A majority of those interviewed at the central office

and the districts felt that the channels of communication were open, but that they needed to be used more frequently.

6. Three of the district superintendents stated that, in general, the school board policies and system-wide administrative regulations and practices promoted, rather than inhibited, flexibility and creativity within their districts. Two of the district superintendents felt that the policies, regulations, and practices were too restrictive. The sixth district superintendent said that he felt that the school board policies were not restrictive or inhibiting, but that the regulations that accompanied the policies were stifling most attempts at creativity.

In the course of racial integration in the school system an interesting development had taken place with the introduction of the issue into the courts. Instead of integration being slowed or halted completely, as was the desire of those who instituted the suit, the process of integration was speeded up and implemented to a much greater extent than was ever the intention on the part of the school system before the introduction of the issue into the courts. The efforts of those within the organization to desegregate the school system were facilitated and not inhibited.

Discussion

This study concentrated upon the historical development and function of the decentralized organization for an urban school system. As was pointed out by the superintendent for this school district, there is no one best plan of decentralization that will fit all school systems. As Cunningham (1970) pointed out, what society is faced with is how to maximize the bigness and the smallness of a situation. In the case of a school system, the task is how to retain the economy of scale on one hand, and increase the responsiveness of the school system on the other.

Other large urban school systems might benefit from the results of a study such as this one, not for the purpose of adopting the organizational structure as adopted by this school system, but for the purpose of analyzing what aspects of this decentralized organizational structure might function within their own organizational arrangement. As pointed out in a recently published circular by the AASA and NEA (1969, p. 3), "The sheer number of people and size of area encompassed by the larger school systems make effective management of the instructional program from a central location difficult." As urban school districts continue to grow in size, they will be considering the organizations of other school systems that have already gone through the process of decentralization for guidance in their decentralization efforts.

Although there is no one decentralization plan which will work for all organizations, some of the findings of this study may find application in other school systems. If the experiences of those in the selected urban school system and the findings of the participant-observer have any validity, the following suggestions might be considered by other school systems in their decentralization efforts.

1. If the ultimate goal of decentralization is to bring about a better educational program throughout the school system, then the primary responsibility for the instructional program should be placed in the district or area offices.

2. In order to insure that the district staffs do not become burdened with noninstructional problems, the responsibility for noninstructional support services should be placed in the central office.

3. Since open channels of communication are as important in a decentralized school system as they are in a centralized school system, the channels of communication need to be constantly examined to insure that they are providing for an effective information flow both upward and downward in the organization.

4. Although school board policies are necessary and desirable in a large school system, especially in one with a decentralized organizational structure, care must be taken to see that these policies do not become restrictive to attempts at creativity and individuality among the districts.

5. The placement of responsibilities in the central office and the district offices needs constant evaluation to determine if certain responsibilities might not be better assigned to an organization level different from the one to which it was assigned.

6. After it has been decided that certain responsibilities might be better carried out if assigned to the district offices, consideration must be given to providing the district offices with additional staff and office space in order that these additional responsibilities might be carried out effectively.

7. The personal characteristics of the district superintendents are an important factor in determining the organizational climate of each individual geographic district. Therefore, extreme care should be taken in the selection of these persons.

8. Although it is desirable that each district superintendent be concerned about the progress and problems of his own district, he must also be aware of the progress and problems of the school system as a whole.

9. Although decentralization will remove many of the administrative burdens from the shoulders of the general superintendent, all major administrative decisions will still need to be funneled through him before they reach the school board, as he is still legally responsible for the operation of the school system.

10. Although communication between the central office and the district offices is important in a decentralized school system and board policies are necessary for the effective operation, care must be taken to insure that the districts are not restricted by the central office in their attempts to provide the best educational programs of which they are capable.

Impact of Federal Funds in Large School Systems

Participation of federal agencies in the financing, decision-making, and planning of educational programs has increased within recent years. As a result, the programs supported by the federal government have come near to the lives of educators. Have these federal programs influenced the organizations of urban school districts? An investigation of this question was undertaken by the project staff (Chapman, 1969).

Northern City and Southern City (see earlier discussion) were selected for study. Interviews were conducted with the school superintendents, assistant superintendents, members of the board of education, divisional heads in the central offices, heads of regional or service centers, and other central office personnel. Another phase of the analysis was the study of documents in each school district to identify any evidence of federal impact upon organizational arrangements.

Increase in Personnel

One rather obvious result of accepting federally financed programs in the two school districts was significant additions of teachers, teacher aids, supervisors, and consultants. By 1966 both systems had added about 700 persons to the instructional and supervisory staffs. Many more persons were added during the years following the 1965-66 school year. The analysis revealed that a greater diversity of personnel specialty was added by both systems since many of the federal programs required various kinds of specialists (i.e., special programs for the disadvantaged).

Organizational Impact

In order to know what federal funds were available and to secure them, both systems developed new organizational subdivisions. Southern City used the assistant superintendent for research to head up the grantsmanship effort. He became renowned as a "super grantsman" and brought millions of dollars into the system. However, as indicated in the earlier sections of this chapter, he operated very much as a loner. This secured funds, but may have hindered implementation of proposals and continuity of education programs.

Northern City used the administrative assistant to the superintendent initially, and later the assistant superintendent for special projects and service for planning and coordination. The research and development division was moved to the division of special services. This was believed to be a more functional approach for this system.

In both systems community groups, parents, teachers, and supervisors became more involved in the planning process as they developed experience. One of the districts secured personnel to assist teachers in planning and operating projects that teachers initiated.

Model cities and urban renewal projects have caused additional organizational modification. Coordination and planning personnel have been designated to work in these programs.

Perceptions of Organizational Change

The perception of administrative leaders about the impact of the federal programs showed several significant insights. Most of these persons were able to name one or more of the programs that were added as a result of federal funds. Most of them were able to cite positive effects of the federal funded programs on budgeting, teaching, and staffing. They shared a highly positive orientation toward the impact of federally funded programs on the philosophy of education of school and community personnel.

However, a majority of those interviewed were unable to cite effects of federal programs on administrative organization although a separate division was created in one system for federal programs and the number of supervisory personnel showed a significant increase in both systems. Their comments on administration and supervision can be summed up as "more of the same old stuff." This indicated a need to provide better inservice programs for administrators of federal projects and the need to be more flexible in operating them. Some of the administrators of federal programs experienced frustration in working with community leaders and from being unable to control the direction of their programs.

The data from the interviews indicated that most persons perceived federal programs as classroom oriented or as taking place in the classroom. They did not perceive much change in the administrative organization as a result of federal programs. They did indicate that the programs influenced the orientation of the school systems. The most frequently mentioned changes were increased attention to community, education of the disadvantaged, and practical approaches to education. The feeling was also expressed by many that the programs resulted in increased instructional services.

The analysis of documentary evidence (i.e., organizational charts) indicated that important organizational changes were made as a result of federally financed programs. For example, divisions were added in both school systems to develop and submit proposals and to administer federally approved programs. One system added a department of intercultural education. However, most of those interviewed in the two systems did not see these changes as significantly affecting administrative organization. Some were critical because they felt that too many outstanding teachers were removed from the classroom to staff the new programs.

Summary Discussion

Many of the urban school districts have achieved great size and complexity. This has placed demands upon the organizational structure of these districts which were previously unknown. In this chapter demands upon the educational organization in addition to size and complexity have been discussed. In Chapter III additional new urban organizational demands will be presented. The traditional organizational arrangements are not coping well with these demands. For this reason numerous proposals for organizational decentralization are being voiced.

In this chapter some of the problems and issues associated with the administration of urban schools were presented. The analysis of these issues tended to show that greater administrative energy was directed toward social and political issues than to curricular and instructional development. The traditional orientation for organization and administration may be failing to account for the general and sociopolitical demands of urban communities. As a consequence, too many of the resources which could be directed toward solving pupil growth and development problems are expended upon survival activities. In searching for new ways of organizing urban school districts, consideration should be given to the creation of structures which reduce the organizational stress created by politically and socially related issues and in creating structures which would help reduce the stress created by these issues.

The studies conducted by the staff indicated a lack of understanding by many teachers, parents, and other citizens concerning how decisions were made. Even some administrators in the central offices were not aware of organizational changes initiated to accomodate federally sponsored programs. The superintendents of large school districts expressed much concern with how to communicate effectively with the participants of their far-flung organizations. Greater attention should be given to defining in clear terms the processes involved in decision-making and this should be widely understood.

Attention might well be given to increasing opportunity for wider participation in decision-making that now exists. The data in this chapter do not show the complete "educationist" domination through bureaucratic controls expounded upon by other writers. However, the analysis of influentials in decision-making revealed serious lack of teacher, supervisor, and principal influence. If one discounts the influence of the community influentials, the Southern City and Northern City leadership structures would reflect the traditional bureaucratic (central office) control. This tended to be confirmed further when the influentials were ranked. In this ranking the teachers, principals, and supervisors were at the bottom of all categories of leaders in influence. The situation where community leaders and central office administrators have so much more influence in decision-making than those closest to the curriculum and instructional problems (i.e., teachers, pupils, and supervisors) could distort the educational purposes of schools.

The studies showed a tendency for the boards and the administrations to spend too much time reacting to rather than planning for action. Perhaps this is another manifestation of the weakness of traditional organizations in dealing with political and social problems. However this may well signal a general lack of cooperative planning activities on the part of the formal organizational structure.

The Southern City and Northern City school systems were experiencing very great problems of communication. The studies concentrating upon communication in large, urban school systems demonstrated how lack of effective communication contributes to organizational failure. Perhaps these large school organizations are too complex to hope for effective communication processes. If so, decentralization might provide opportunity for better communication. In any event this is a major problem of considering ways and means for the restructuring of the urban schools.

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CHAPTER III

CONFRONTATION POLITICS AND CONFLICT IN URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Educational leaders of large school districts have always experienced conflicts. However, within recent years city school superintendents have been the center of a new form of conflict which has been appropriately referred to as confrontation politics. Leaders of special interest groups are using disruptive techniques (i.e., boycotts, sit-ins, strikes) to pressure school administrators and boards. The rise in teacher militancy has also forced a realignment of power relationships in the development of educational policy in many school systems.

The purpose of this chapter is to present data and a review of literature about conflict in urban school systems. What types of conflicts are found among selected urban school systems? What is the relationship of the conflicts to organizational structure? Do these conflicts bring about modifications in the existing organization? The chapter includes an analysis of conflict in five urban school systems, a discussion of student unrest and policies guiding action in periods of student uprisings, and a discussion and analysis of teacher collective action.

Analysis of Conflict in Five Large School Systems

The rise in teacher militancy and in student unrest are the primary factors that led to the development of this portion of the project. The number of school days lost in teachers' strikes has increased from 58,000 in 1966 to over 2 million in 1968. The data on increase in incidents of student unrest that have closed schools in major cities show that 70 percent of urban schools have had some disruptive incident during the 1968-69 school year.

Five urban school districts agreed to participate in a study of conflicts during the 1969-70 school year. Each school district had over 75,000 pupils, and they had three different organizational structures. Two of them had a unified city and county or metro district, two had regional decentralization, and the fifth had instructional service decentralization with administrative centralization. McBriarty (1970) provided a comprehensive discussion of three of the districts discussed.

The data were gathered from: (1) an initial set of interviews with school administrators and key influentials in the metropolitan region, (2) an analysis of newspapers and of school board records, and (3) in-depth interviews with those identified as being participants in each of the conflicts. The interview guide shown in Appendix C was used.

The study focused on six major areas: (1) What was the relationship of the organizational structure to the conflict? (2) How did the opposition group deal with the school system, and how did the system deal with the opposition group? (3) Did the conflict lead to any organizational modification of the structure—if so, how? (4) Did the persons within the school system feel that the achievement of their goals was affected? (5) Did members of the opposition group feel that the achievement of their goals was affected? (6) Which groups participated in the conflicts?

Five levels of participation to describe the access of the opposition to decision-making and the means the system used to deal with the opposition group were used in the study: (1) *Closed*—administrative decision-making based on vested authority with little access of others to the decision-making. (2) *Access*—group affected had opportunity to be heard. (3) *Participation*—group affected took part in the decision process. (4) *Open*—free exchange of ideas, decision represented opinions of all concerned. (5) *Legal*—the decision was made by a constituting legal authority.

School System A

School System A serves a metropolitan area including a city of a quarter of a million people and is a unified city and county district. This means that rural areas are included in the school system. The district was formed eight years ago in the merger of the city and county districts. The district has over 80,000 pupils and has been growing at the rate of 2,700 pupils per year. Thirty percent of the pupils are black. The school system has a centralized system of administration, with a superintendent responsible to the board, and appointed by it. Six assistant superintendents report to him. The principals report to the appropriate assistant superintendent. There is some degree of school autonomy, and many principals have begun innovations in curriculum and administrative processes. A discussion of the conflicts found in this school district will be reviewed at this time.

The first conflict discussed dealt with racial desegregation. At the time of the study this case was in the court. In the most recent decision, the court ruled that the district did not have to eliminate all black and all white schools. The final disposition of this issue was still in doubt at the time of this study. The suit was brought by the NAACP charging the board with the duty to convert to a unitary system in which all racial discrimination would be eliminated. The U. S. District Court approved a plan for 1970 that would have eliminated all totally black or white schools. This was remanded by the U. S. Court of Appeals for further study. The participants who filed the suit described their treatment as both legal and access. That is, they have depended upon the courts to provide the decision, and as far as the school district itself is concerned, they have had only access. That is, they had been heard and had not been able to have a voice in the decision process. In fact, the school district really did not come to grips with the problem until 1969. The organizational structure of the two districts which had been consolidated did not relate to the conflict as blacks are in the central office administration, occupy the roles of principals, and are not excluded from participation. The structure was modified by instituting a new plan of organization of schools, including the closing of some and the construction of others to provide for integration, and the use of a ratio as a basis for assignment of teachers, students and administrators. The administrators stated that their goals had been hindered in the process, while the opposition stated that their goals had been helped. As the opposition sought to achieve total integration, it appeared they were achieving their goals.

A second major conflict arose when the local teacher organization, which was an affiliate of NEA, expressed a desire for a voice in personnel policies, particularly with regard to the black and white faculty ratios. The activities of the teacher organization had been legitimate within the system and had been moderate in that they had constituted no major challenge to existing authority. As compared with many other systems around the nation the teachers were not militant, although both the teachers and the administrators felt that there was a confrontation. Salaries and grievance procedures were two additional sources of conflict. The central office staff had taken the initiative and organized a grievance committee composed of six teachers, three principals, a director, and an assistant superintendent in order to ease tension and to open communications. The conflict also focused on the transfer of teachers to schools of other races in order to achieve the ratio desired for integration. The grievance committee was apparently working well, and communications were improved. The organizational structure was a major factor here in that teachers in the reorganized school district had little opportunity to protect themselves, had a weak teachers' organization, and had little access to the new central office administration. This has been modified through the grievance committee and through the participation of the teachers' organization at board meetings which has resulted in better achievement in reaching both administrative and teacher group goals.

The third conflict was between the central office staff and the principals. Until recently the majority of the principals were either unable or unwilling to provide necessary professional leadership. They had little experience in the development of the curriculum. Again the central office took the lead, and through a change in personnel, intensive in-service training for administrators, and additional autonomy for principals, major changes in the role of the principal had been realized. This caused a positive change in the organizational structures. More principals moved from the comfort of central office decisions to the professional responsibility of school-level decisions. The treatment method was participation in that the principals, central office personnel, and the teachers were all involved in making the change. Although the goals had not been fully achieved at the time of the study, goal attainment was anticipated by all groups.

A fourth conflict involved the school board and another agency concerning funds. The school district was fiscally dependent. The county commission was responsible for levying taxes to support the fiscal needs of the school. The school board does have the right of appeal to the courts, but in the history of the state there have been two appeals and the school board lost in each case. The county commission also had the right of line item veto of the budget although it exercised this power very rarely. Recently there had been several major conflicts between the school district and county commission over the amount of the budget and over specific items. Following one of these conflicts a committee of leading citizens was appointed by the commission after nomination by the school board. This committee was responsible for reviewing the budget and fiscal issues pertaining to schools and making recommendations to the commission. At the same time the commission agreed not to interfere in school affairs other than at budget time. The committee has functioned effectively although some commission members felt the members of the committee had been brainwashed by the school system. Some school administrators felt that the committee had not stood up enough for education. This was a major change in organizational structure in that a system-spanning unit was created to reduce conflict. This helped to achieve better understanding by the county commission of the problems and needs of the school system.

The fifth problem involved the closing of an all-black high school in the center of the town and the construction of a new integrated high school. In a recent school bond issue two million dollars had been set aside for construction of a new school on the same site which was to be a comprehensive high school with conventional course offerings as well as vocational, technical, and cultural offerings. Shortly after the court order on integration the board committee on sites and buildings met and voted to cancel the plans for the school and to build it simply as a vocational school without a conventional curriculum. This would have meant the reassignment of a majority of the black students to other high schools in the system. On the morning following the decision not to construct a comprehensive school and to transfer the students to other high schools, agitators from a nearby college who appeared on campus urged the students to leave classes. Nonstudents were ordered off campus, as were television cameramen and newspapermen. Twelve youths were arrested. The president of the student body, with the consent of the principal, called a student assembly. The principal of the school, acting on his own authority, secured several school buses, filled them with approximately 250 students, and a caravan was formed which proceeded to the central administration building some nine miles away. Teachers were sent with them to insure orderly behavior and to provide for their safety. Since the school superintendent was out of town, the group met with several assistant superintendents who listened and told them of court orders and limitations imposed on the central office staff decisions. Upon arrival in town, the superintendent came to the school and met with students. He impressed upon them that at the time there was no alternative available to the central administration and that the court decision required the elimination of black schools. The students felt that the demonstration had no effect and the structure was not modified. The goal of the students remained unchanged although unfulfilled, and the administration felt that their goals of educational operation were hindered in the process. The case against the students who were arrested was dismissed at a later date.

The sixth conflict also involved a single high school. The nickname of the high school was "The Rebels." The emblem was the confederate flag. The school song was Dixie. The student body had been integrated for approximately three years, having 1,100 white and 400 black students. During the first two or three years the blacks had participated actively in the school, with black cheerleaders and black student government members. During the year prior to the study, separatists among the blacks and whites had affected this harmony. A popular black student lost his seat on the council by five votes. The following day the only black girl up for cheerleader was also defeated in an election. This led to a crowd of 150 blacks congregating in front of the school demanding that the principal change the school flag, school song, and school nickname. The principal invited the students inside in the auditorium to discuss their demands. The principal met with approximately 150 black students, listened to their demands, and asked them to appoint a committee. In the meantime, white parents and white students had become upset over the fact that they felt the principal was giving in to the black students. They organized a counter boycott for the following morning. The central office sent assistance to the principal. A black-white committee of students and parents was formed to consider alternatives and to make recommendations on these and other issues including drawing up a new student government constitution. Other principals in the school system saw a similar condition developing and appointed committees. The district superintendent appointed a central committee composed of representatives of the local school committees and this process was currently under way at the time of the study. The organizational structure was only slightly affected. The conflict had led to a modification of the structures with students participating much more actively in the determination of their goals. Again the treatment was access and limited participation at the school level. The goals of the administration to keep an orderly running school system were hindered, and the goals of the students, particularly the black students, seemed to be enhanced.

School System B

School System B is located in one of the fastest growing areas of Florida. It is a diversified area with agriculture, defense, and tourism as major components of the economic system. Four institutions of higher education are located within the district boundaries. The school system currently has 80,000 pupils and has been growing at the rate of 3,000 per year. Seventeen percent of the population is black.

The school district is centralized and has served the city and county area since a statewide reorganization in 1947. A seven-man school board appoints the superintendent who has two deputies, one for administration and one for instruction. The deputy superintendents have numerous assistant superintendents and directors under them. The principals are not specifically designated as reporting directly to any one person, but they normally report to the assistant superintendent for instruction. Although the school board members are elected on a nonpartisan basis, partisan politics has been very noticeable in this particular district.

The first conflict discussed existed primarily between the administration and the teachers, although principals were also involved. Those interviewed spoke of a general feeling against centralization. They discussed poor interpersonal relationships, insecurity, and frustration that have accompanied the growth of a large organization.

Several stressed the inability of those in the classroom to know what is going on, or why. The superintendent and board appeared to act in a patriarchal manner. Numerous budget problems were also involved, in that funds were not available to meet the rapidly expanding demands with some custodians having received a cut in salary. In open board meetings the teachers and principals requested better communication, information, and participation in the decision process. The superintendent inaugurated a series of television programs wherein he briefed all teachers and principals after each board meeting. Regularly scheduled visits to all schools in the system were begun by the superintendent and a board member. This gave teachers an opportunity to present some of their ideas and to ask questions. Most of the teachers interviewed felt that this has helped open lines of communication. The Professional Affairs Committee was originally organized in 1965 and was beginning to function fairly effectively as a procedure for presentation of matters to the central administration and school board. There was some modification of structure in that the superintendent and board members initiated new procedures for communicating with teachers. Both sides felt that there had been an improvement in the achievement of their goals.

Two years ago, as part of a statewide walkout, approximately 900 of the teachers turned in written resignations and walked off of their jobs. Because the statewide walkout did not succeed, the local walkout did not succeed. The teachers were accused of breach of contract, and a court case was instigated. Principals who joined with the teachers and walked out were not rehired as principals. In fact several principals were not even rehired by the system as teachers and were forced to leave. Most of the teachers were rehired, but the feelings of antagonism between the teachers who walked out and the teachers who did not walk out continued until the time of this study. There were few, if any, reprisals on the teachers. Most teachers interviewed said there were none. The walkout did not result in any major change in structure. It probably hindered the attainment of both the system and the teacher organization goals.

As with most urban school districts, desegregation or integration was a major area of conflict. The original complaint was filed in this district seven years prior to the study when the district had only token integration. Subsequently, a plan was agreed upon that relied heavily upon pupil and parental preference usually called "freedom of choice." In 1968, another motion was filed for court action. A plan was developed by the school board which had the opposition of some elements in the local black community who responded by keeping their pupils out of school for a period of time. The board reacted by withdrawing the plan and submitted a new plan which was similar to the first desegregation plan adopted. The court ruled the plan was in compliance with the law. The plaintiffs appealed the decision. The fact that the black community was able to cause the withdrawal of the original board plan would seem to indicate some level of participation as well as legal pressure. The structure was modified. The organization of the schools conformed to that which the black community desired. The black leaders stated that they were successful in goal achievement. Administrators felt that the effective functioning of the schools was hindered.

In a recent session of the Florida State Legislature the "government under the sunshine" law was enacted (McBriarty, p. 62). It reads as follows:

> All meetings of any board of commission in a state agency or authority or any agency or authority of any county municipal corporation or any political subdivisions except as otherwise provided in the constitution and which official acts are to be taken or declared to be public meetings, open to the public at all times and no resolution, rule, regulation or formal action shall be considered binding except as taken or made at such meetings.

Additional provisions provide for all the records to be open to the public and the use of injunction and punishment by fine or imprisonment. To enforce the law, the school board in School System B had been having informal meetings, work sessions, and briefing sessions which were not open to the public or to the press. Conflict on this issue rose when members of the press were not admitted to one of these meetings. The newspaper asked for an injunction. The judge refused to grant the injunction, whereupon the plaintiffs appealed. The ruling in a similar appeal in a neighboring district was that the discussion had to be open and prohibited the board from ". . . holding any gathering in which a quorum was present wherein matters were to be discussed or information presented which may pertain to or may forseeably pertain to the operation of the schools, excepting that the board may have private consultation with their attorney." In effect the court ruled that all meetings must be open. Thus, a major change in the structure of the school district took place. Administrators were quick to say the decision hindered the operation of the educational program. The newsmen interviewed stated that this would result in a much better educational program.

Sex education became an issue when a group of parents indicated the desire to include in the regular curriculum additional information on the human reproductive organs and the process of reproduction. A committee of civic leaders was appointed to study the question and make recommendations. A trial program was developed. Sixteen schools were selected. Some of the materials to be used were provided by a nationally known supplier, and others were developed locally. Gradually opposition began to develop within the community, led by certain clergymen and civic leaders who voiced strong opposition to the program. Because of the nature of this issue and its relationship to the value system of the society, the publicity on the controversy was extensive. The school administration reacted by polling parents and found that 60 to 70 percent approved, and over 90 percent of the teachers approved. Approximately 150 persons attended a school board meeting and demanded to be heard. Originally they were refused access to the agenda, but after threatening to disrupt the total meeting they were given an opportunity to speak. A special meeting was held and lasted thirteen hours and fifteen minutes. The people could not be seated in the hearing room and many stood outside in the rain for six to ten hours. The board then passed a motion to reevaluate the program and to make it voluntary. The program has since been instituted systemwide. The board took a very open approach using polling, board meetings, committees, and every opportunity for participation. The administration felt that the whole process had helped the community understand the educational process a little better. The opposition group, since they did not prevent some measure of sex education in the schools, felt that their goals were not achieved.

Another conflict developed between the school administration and the community over the future of an old central city black high school. In the original plan for racial integration this was to become a vocational adult center with no academic program for day students. The black students attending this school were to be reassigned to neighboring white schools. The plan was opposed by a majority of the local black community although supported by the local and national NAACP. Many persons in the community wanted realignment so that whites living within two blocks of the school would be attending the school. The superintendent met with the parents and attempted to explain the court order and reasons for change. The black militants said they wanted a black school; the moderate blacks said they wanted a fully integrated school; and all said they wanted to control the school. The local NAACP president was unable to justify his position to other blacks. As a result, the local NAACP changed its stand and now opposed the plan which it had previously supported. A boycott was initiated. On Thursday and Friday of this boycott no students attended the high school and six percent of the black students were absent from neighboring schools. The students dissented without demonstrations, disorder, or property damage. They simply disappeared for two days. The plan finally adopted was to move all students in most vocational courses, including DCT and DE from all the neighboring high schools to this school. The junior high school portion was closed down, and those students were assigned to the other high schools. The result was the integration of the student body with approximately 175 white students out of a total student body of 1,500. The community groups used legal procedures and direct participation as their two means of access to decision-making, and the conflict resulted in some modification of the organizational structure. School officials felt this change hindered them in their plans for educational development. The black leaders felt that this was a significant achievement for them.

School System C

School System C serves the center core area in a metropolitan area of one million population. The major economic interests were trade, shipping, banking, manufacturing, and tourism. The public school system has in excess of 110 thousand pupils. Seventy-two thousand of these students are black. Approximately 50,000 students attend private and parochial schools operated primarily by the Catholic Church. Black students have doubled in number since 1956 while the number of white students has remained relatively constant. The school system has a five-man board elected on a partisan basis for six-year overlapping terms. One of the board members is black. The board appoints the superintendent. He has six assistant superintendents and four regional superintendents. There was little administrative decentralization. All of those interviewed, except those at the very top of the system, felt that the system was very centrally controlled.

The first conflict reviewed was a teacher strike. The issue was the recognition of the AFT as the bargaining agent for the teachers. A similar strike had been held three years earlier, and the teachers had lost. The union wanted an election for recognition as bargaining agent. The state had no law giving such sanction; neither was there any law of prohibiting recognition of a bargaining agent. Teacher units in other systems in the state did have agreements. The teachers claimed that recognition would allow them to bargain with the community and to do so with greater efficiency than the board. They would then be more responsive to the community. The central administration took the position that if teachers were given the power of negotiation, this would abrogate their control of the system, and this control was their responsibility by law. They contended that unions were primarily concerned with bread and butter issues and not noted for their responsibility in improving educational services and that a strike was not allowed by state law. They admitted the principals often acted in an autocratic manner, but they said this was primarily in black schools and could be corrected. The central administration did make provisions for teacher participation in personnel policy with teacher representatives being elected by secret ballot and serving on various committees to recommend change. The grievance procedures were through administrative channels.

The situation was further complicated because of the existence of more than one teacher organization. An earlier union had been told to integrate and this caused an exodus of 400 white teachers who organized their own local. The local affiliate of NEA had approximately 500 members, while the larger AFT had a membership of about 1,400 of which 96 percent were black. Early in 1969 the teachers' union set forth their demands which were denied. Slightly over 1,000 teachers walked off of their jobs. The local NEA affiliate disapproved of the action.

The central administration had anticipated this strike and had made extensive preparations. Packets of directions were prepared for all principals individually so that leaks of information could be traced. A separate communications and control office was set up, and 29 schools were closed at once. The central office staff substituted for teachers, shifted teachers from one school to the other, and gradually began reopening the closed schools one by one. The strike lasted ten days, and at the end of that time only 350 teachers were still out. The board and staff did not hold conferences with anyone. At the end of the ten days they did sit down with the union representatives and agree to take back all teachers without reprisal. The teachers felt that there were reprisals and that some teachers were fired and others were taken back on a temporary basis. Several incidents of violence occurred. All persons interviewed agreed that the strike did not change the structure of the system significantly, although it did change the structure of the union in that it severely reduced its membership. The administration felt that the educational program was hindered. The union goals were not met and all agreed that the system had operated effectively in a closed manner to keep the teachers' organization out of the decision-making process.

The second major conflict arose over the fact that the school system operated a dual school district until 1960, with geographical zoning beginning at that time. As schools were integrated resegregation took place due to movement of white populations. Two years before this study a policy was invoked in an effort to stabilize school populations. This was the source of conflict regarding procedures for racial integration of schools. When a school population reached 30 percent black, no white students were allowed to transfer in. Permits were given to any black students to attend any school that had 10 percent or less black students. The board had begun to question the arbitrary percentages, but they were still in effect at the time of this study. The school system had no blacks in the upper administration. There were no black principals at any schools, and black teachers felt that the system had effectively closed them out. The structure had been modified to the extent that the exclusion of blacks from the decision-making process was not as great as had existed previously.

The third major conflict studied developed when the local parochial school system, which enrolls half as many people as the public school system and more whites than the public school system, requested the legislature to provide funds for parochial schools under the threat of closing the parochial schools. The superintendent came out in opposition to the request, making many statements to this effect on television and in the press. The school board later supported his stand. The school administration made a survey and announced that in the event the parochial schools closed they could take care of the additional number of students with ease. This was a few months after a bond issue had been defeated, at a time when the school officials said they had to have new buildings just to handle this current enrollment. The state legislature voted on the issue, and it was defeated, but only by a few votes. In a special session of the legislature the issue came up again, and at that time it was also defeated. The group proposing parochial aid, a private corporation, threatened that if the public school system did not support them, they would no longer provide Catholic support for bond issues. For proof of their threat they cited the defeat of the recent bond issue. The organizational structure of the school system was not changed. Legal and legislative processes were used with the net result that the relations between the public schools and the parochial schools were impaired. The goals of the leaders in the parochial schools were not realized.

The fourth conflict centered around an integrated high school of approximately 500 black students and 1,000 white students. Serious racial tensions were developing. A group of black students approached the school administration with a petition calling for the recognition of a black student organization, the admission of black history into the curriculum, a review of policies relating to suspension and detention, and the hiring of more black teachers. The principal met with the leader of the group, pointing out that there was no place for such segregation within a public school system. Later in the week the students decided to demonstrate. A group of students began marching around the school singing and encouraging other students to join them. The police were called. However, when the principal requested that they arrest students who refused to leave the building, the police thought that they should not act without advice from the city attorney since this was a new experience for them. At that point the principal agreed to meet with the demonstrators and with adults from the community. The student leaders dispersed the demonstrators and stated that they did not want the adults and NAACP to sit in. The principal then stated the conference was over. Over the weekend the principal sent notes requesting the parents of those students who participated in the demonstration to come to school Monday. Instead, a large number of students showed up and began to demonstrate. Also in the group were a number of nonstudents. During the process of the demonstration 80 students were taken into custody, and 12 were formally charged. The superintendent appointed a committee to investigate the disruption. The committee met with parents, students, teachers, administrators, and community people, allowing all to be heard. They stated that there was no "deliberate discrimination" found, but that some "individual discrimination" probably existed. The committee recommended the encouragement of black student participation in all activities and a review of disciplinary activities. It also agreed to the inclusion of the role of black Americans in all subjects, and a full-time position was added to the school to work for better human relations within the school. Again the closedness of the bureaucratic system of the school was a significant factor in the conflict. The students had little access to decision-making prior to the threat of police action. The students felt that their goals were achieved. The organizational structure was modified in that some policies were changed and an additional position was added to the administrative structure of the particular school.

The fifth conflict was within the central administration and involved communication and the decision-making process. The system was characterized by closedness. The decisions were often made without the assistant or regional superintendents even knowing of the decisions. One of the comments made was that federal employees were getting preferential treatment for pay and promotion. Weekly staff meetings were established by the superintendent in an attempt to share information. They were attended by all top level personnel. These were primarily informative sessions rather than decision-making sessions. The size of the system, the difference in personnel and philosophies, and the complexity of the conflicts combined to make the solutions difficult. There was some evidence to support a thesis that certain elements of the central office worked together, but this was on the second and third level. The central administration was making little or no effort to develop openness. For example, the associate superintendent for instruction was not aware of the plans for handling the teacher strike until the strike began. There was fear on the part of some of the central office staff officials that if he had known he would have leaked the information to the teachers although there was some doubt that this was the real reason. The internal communication conflict was of such a degree that it was a factor in the superintendent being replaced a few months following the study. The structure of the central office and its operation were major causes of this conflict. People were only listened to and did not have a chance to participate effectively in decisions. Consequently, little structural change was evident at the time of the study to alter patterns of participation.

The sixth conflict was over sex education. The question first arose when a group of concerned parents approached the board and suggested that the board consider such a program. The board reacted favorably. A well-qualified professional educator from another region of the United States was asked to investigate and develop the program. However, he had a lack of communication ability. Questionnaires were sent to the parents throughout the system. Committees began to work on a proposed curriculum and a pilot program was gradually developed. The pilot program was scheduled for three schools where teachers were given in-service education, and information programs were given at PTA meetings. Things went well for six months. At that point the opposition developed both within the system and in the community. The school system was immediately put on the defensive. School officials organized forums and brought forth supporters. The opposition enlisted the support of certain school leaders who had serious questions about sex education. They also welcomed support of right wing groups from the political and religious sectors. The opposition had ample funds to support their campaign. The group formed to fight sex education ultimately changed leadership, and became even more aggressive. The school leaders felt there was much support for the program but that they simply were unable to cope with the tactics of the opposition. They allowed the program to be dropped in two schools, let it limp until the close of the year in the others, and then simply eliminated it entirely. Several educators indicated a plan to revive it at a later date. The state legislature passed a resolution directing all school boards to prohibit the teaching of sex education until a special study could be made. This time the treatment was more open than in previously described conflicts. The external group was able to arouse sufficient political and social strength to cause the school system to remove an item from the curriculum. Thus the instructional organization was changed. The opposition goals were achieved. The educators felt that their educational goals were not achieved.

School System D

System D was located in the midwestern United States. The system served the city. Sixteen other operating school districts served the suburban areas of the city. The system had in excess of 100,000 pupils. The city has experienced much growth since 1950. The majority of the new immigrants came from the rural South, and the largest percentage was black. Estimates indicated that the black population would rise more than 30 percent during the three years following the study and would have doubled since 1960.

System D had 150 schools, most of which had been constructed after 1950. The system has been growing at the rate of approximately 4,500 new pupils each year. While the majority of teachers were graduates of institutions within the state, over 150 colleges and universities were represented on the professional staff. Only 15 percent of the applicants interviewed for teaching positions were offered employment. Prior to the passage of a recent millage election, System D ranked in the lowest 20 percent in property tax rate among the nation's 100 largest school districts. Since 1945, the voters have approved thirteen out of fourteen operating millage elections and bond issues totaling more than 100 million dollars.

The board of education was composed of seven members elected at large on a nonpartisan ballot. Each member served four-year terms and could succeed himself. Vacancies occurring between elections were filled by majority vote of remaining members of the board. The board appointed the superintendent. The district was organized with centralized administrative control through the superintendent, six associate superintendents, and numerous staff personnel. In the areas of curriculum, instruction, and pupil services the system was decentralized in that these services were placed in four regional offices.

The organizational manual of System D did not attribute any areas of decision-making responsibility to the teachers in the system. This was changed by professional negotiation which was begun within the period of this study.

The first major conflict discussed by those interviewed dealt with the acquisition of federal funds. Prior to the 1965-66 school year, System D had received federal funds only under the federal impact statutes. Most of the conflict over the use of federal funds was among members of the board. A year prior to the study the board voted to accept other federal funds in addition to impact funds. There was a feeling that if they were going to take federal sources other than impact funds, they should go all out to collect as much as possible. Thus there was great increase in federal funds to support education. There was evidence that the resolution of the conflict had altered the organizational structure of the school system. The structure moved toward a higher degree of openness. Just prior to the study the school voters approved a millage levy by a very small majority. This levy represented an increase of nearly 36 percent in total operating income. In the effort to secure the funds the system went into a strong campaign to secure voter approval stressing the following points: (1) acquisition of professional staff specialists, (2) improvement of existing programs, (3) creation of new programs, (4) improvement of external communications, (5) accelerated recruitment of black teachers, (6) the strengthening of the research capabilities, and (7) providing transportation to relieve overcrowding produced by the building moratorium.

The second and third conflicts studied were closely related. One dealt with faculty and student integration. The other was an outgrowth of this issue relating to providing quality education for blacks. This system was committed to the neighborhood school concept. The average enrollment in the elementary schools was less than 650. None of the elementary schools exceeded 1,000 enrollment. Racial integration would have involved extensive bussing due to the racial imbalance in the elementary schools. Proposals were made which would have created various degrees of bussing and all of these were under severe attack by both the white and the black community.

About 26 percent of the pupils in the school district were black. Only 13 percent of the professional staff were black. Most of the schools had one or more black teachers. Three proposals had been presented in order to achieve greater racial balance: (1) black teachers should be transferred from core city to suburban schools; (2) an active recruitment program for black staff was developed; and (3) educational parks to replace neighborhood schools were to be created. The third alternative had been tabled by the school board.

There was a strong feeling among segments of the black community that the school board was ill-informed about the conditions in the core city schools. This led to the formation of an ad hoc committee of black citizens and to boycotts at two schools. These boycotts were in part responsible for the massive acceptance of federal funds, most of which had gone to the core city schools to create better educational programs. The achievement studies showed that the black pupils were not having the same level of success as other pupils and that desegregation had provided few gains. Due to the location of the schools there was little possibility of massive integration except through bussing. The board adopted special programs, primarily in the center city schools, designated as priority one school, investing additional personnel, programs, facilities, and funds. The funds were obtained from both the extra millage and from federal sources. Some observers felt that these compensatory and enrichment programs were means to prevent integration. The black community was stressing the need to do even more to upgrade the level of the black students within the school district.

One change made was the addition of black culture and history at the secondary and elementary levels. In some schools this was presented in a fused fashion. Other schools used a separate black studies approach. The school system has published materials, planned special experiences, and sought experts to develop the programs. Special courses have also been offered in the adult evening high school.

Early in the conflict, when integration was high in the feeling of the community and educational system, the school system requested an outside study by a university. This led to a building moratorium, and no new schools were to be built until the state and city passed an open housing ordinance. After 18 months the moratorium had to be lifted in order to keep up with the pupil growth. Again integration went by the boards in favor of "quality education."

Where schools had been integrated by a board policy, whites had moved, and a pattern of resegregation developed. Resegregation was especially prevalent because of the existence of sixteen operating school districts within the county. In both of these instances the school system felt that it experienced severe opposition to its goals, but that the goals of quality of education had been strengthened. The community groups felt that their goals had been met in part.

Student unrest had been closely related to the integration-segregation controversy, and the student unrest incidents had all had racial overtones. Initially the school system had no policy for dealing with student disruption of school activities.

The research staff was able to observe the dynamics involved in the boycott and eventual closing of a school. Interviews with black power leaders revealed their plans to close a target school when the school superintendent left for a professional meeting. The leader of the movement gave the time and date in which the students would be led to walk out of the school.

At precisely the time given by the advocate of black power, leaders in the black community were able to lead the students to stage a confrontation with the principal. The principal was without resources to deal with the situation. The school was closed.

The officials of the central office staff believed that the principal had failed. Some expressed the belief that the principal was incompetent. From their view, the disruption was spontaneous and limited to leaders within the student body. These observations should be very significant to professional educators. There was a very definite tendency of central staff officials to view school disruptions as somewhat isolated from the dynamics of community life. This could be very injurious to attemps to provide schoolmen with resources to participate in confrontation politics.

Due to the severe disruption on several occasions, a very comprehensive policy of student control was developed by the board of education. The central administration believed that the student unrest problem was under "control." At this point there had been little change in structure.

Professional bargaining between the school district and the school system education association produced perhaps the major confrontation during the study. The education association was taken over during the year by a group of young teachers described as "militants" or "professionals," depending on who was being interviewed. They demanded a professional negotiation agreement with the school board. The state law in this state did not require negotiations although over 100 school districts in the state had an agreement. At first the board refused to negotiate a bargaining agreement. An agreement was finally adopted hours before the teachers were scheduled to go out on a strike. On one occasion the superintendent was quoted to have said, "I developed that education association; I've been the backbone of it; and now you stab me in the back." The agreement finally negotiated called for negotiation of teacher salaries, working conditions, and administrative matters. The teachers believed they had received a blank check and they were attempting to cash it. The first-year agreement was on salaries. In later agreements the teachers planned to negotiate what they felt to be more important items for the profession of education. All administrative personnel were excluded from the agreement despite their membership in the education association. The agreement also included a no strike clause and provided for final and binding arbitration. This was a major change in the structure and was perceived by most observers as helping the education association to achieve its goals. Administrators believed the decision had changed significantly the power relationships within the organization.

The formal organization of the central office was restructured during the period of this study. A sixth division was added gathering functions from the other existing departments and called the Division of Personnel Services. A black administrator was appointed to the new assistant superintendent's position, the first of his race to hold such a position in the school system. The focus of the reorganization was not only on the new department but on the need to develop a more effective functioning of the other departments. Also developed at this same time was a Division of Special Services including research, planning, and publication. The school system recognized that there was a tremendous problem in both internal and external communications. The school officials were attempting to reduce conflict on the organizational level.

In almost every case considered in this study, personnel felt that the conflicts had hindered their goals. Only the issue of internal reorganization and communication did they feel helped the system, although they did express the feeling that the acquisition of additional funds may have had some benefits. The opposition groups in almost every case felt that achievement of their goals was realized by the conflict even though some felt that the federal funds and the reorganization were not used as much to their benefit as anticipated.

School System E

School System E is part of a large metropolitan area which includes the state capital. The metropolitan area consists of over one and a quarter million residents, and the central city has over a half a million population. The white population of the central city was 55 percent, while the white population in the metropolitan area was 77 percent. The school district serving the central city was surrounded by a county school district and by six other districts serving the metropolitan area. School System E had over 100 thousand pupils and 160 schools. It was 62 percent black with a growth rate of two percent per year (principally black). The school system had a budget of in excess of 60 million dollars and had a nonpartisan school board which appointed the superintendent who was responsible to the board for carrying out the activities of the school system. The school system was divided into five regions, each of which had an area superintendent who was responsible for the administration of the schools and educational programs within that region. The principals were responsible to the regional superintendent and the regional superintendent to the superintendent. The assistant and associate superintendents served as staff members although there was not a clear distinction of line and staff authority in this particular system. Teachers had no formal access to the decision-making authority other than through their principal.

The first three conflicts all related to the racial integration issue. The school system had no integration prior to the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and had a history of racial segregation. One conflict involved student integration. Another conflict concerned faculty and staff integration. Quality education for blacks was a third conflict.

These three will be considered together as they are closely related to the general issue of racial integration.

The school system originally adopted a planned gradual integration beginning with the twelfth grade and proceeding downward each year. Community reaction soon brought this plan to a halt prior to its implementation. Freedom of choice was the next system that was tried. A student could attend any school any time there was an opening. However, the school system provided little free transportation, and integration in most schools did not result. The school system then began redesigning school boundaries to try to integrate on a neighborhood and a walk to school basis. However, all seemed to agree that once a school reached approximately 35 percent black, whites began to move from the community and resegregation became the pattern. Pupil integration in two areas of the school district had not been achieved to any recognizable extent.

Closely related to this was the faculty and staff integration. Most schools had three or fewer teachers of a race opposite the majority of the students they taught. Blacks saw this as tokenism. The teacher organizations, which will be discussed later, were able to combine during the period of the study. A major area of contention was the lack of black leadership in higher administrative positions although one assistant superintendent and two regional superintendents were black. The black community charged that the pace of integration was too slow and many of the whites maintained that it was too rapid.

With the lack of extensive integration, the blacks in the community turned their attention to developing equal educational opportunity for economically poor and culturally disadvantaged students who are predominately black. The black pupils from the center city were achieving at a lower rate than the middle class black student on the edges of the school district. The school officials maintained that this was due to the economic and cultural level of the homes from which the pupils came. The blacks maintained that these needs should be considered in the development of curriculum programs and the development of staff positions. The school system maintained that money was not currently available. The problem was a continuing conflict in newspaper accounts of board meetings and at election time. The school system maintained that there was no significant difference in the average per pupil value of buildings, grounds, furniture, equipment, or faculty for any area of the district. Black community groups and a student group maintained that there should be a significant difference in favor of the blacks as a compensatory program. Upgrading of the curriculum and new programs had been emphasized. The system had been quite innovative in this and had begun a year-round operation. One focus of this problem had been the location of the new school facilities. In 1963 and 1966, bond issues included funds for the construction of a new high school in a poorer section of the city, but the school was not built. After receiving the 1966 funds, the board purchased property in an adjacent section of the black middle class area that was adjacent to some whites. The center city black community fought the moving of the school outside of their area, preferring a black neighborhood high school to having an integrated high school some distance away. This would reduce their ability to control or at least to participate in the school governance. At the time of the study the school system had begun construction of the building located outside of the center city area. The administrators felt that all three of the integration or racial conflicts had hindered the attainment of educational goals. The opposition groups felt that they had realized goal achievement and that there was some measure of modification of organizational structure. They felt that there was more black participation in the decision process.

The fourth conflict studied related to the teachers' organizations and to professional negotiations. The two statewide professional teacher organizations with membership determined by race were under a mandate of the National Education Association to merge. Extensive planning and conflict were experienced in designing the merger plan which included a nine-year interim period during which time leadership positions were to be rotated. The plan required alternating black and white leadership. The plan called for the inclusion of blacks into the membership of the organization and a life contract for the executive secretary of the black teachers' organization. This had much influence on the merger of the local teachers' organization which was going on at the same time. The lack of teacher unity and the distrust of one teacher group with another was reflected in two related issues. One involved promotion and transfer policies. Most teachers and lower level administrators felt that it was impossible to be promoted in a system without some political influence, especially if one were black. Black teachers contended that when a black was put in a high position, the job description was often changed so that he lost much of the power and prestige of the office. White teachers were especially antagonistic in regard to the staffing of predominately black schools with white teachers. The distrust and continuing antagonism on both issues had not lessened even with the merger.

Within the ten year period before the study, teacher salaries in School District E had risen 35 percent. This had barely kept pace with the increased cost of living during the period. The teachers were better paid than some of the surrounding districts, although many firemen and garbage collectors made a higher annual salary. With many of the white parents moving to the suburbs, pay raises were given to retain teachers although administrators felt raises would be necessary to keep them in predominately black schools. The salary issue was not critical at this time, as the teacher organizations had been more concerned with merger and protecting themselves than with bargaining with the school system. The school system had no bargaining agreement with the teacher organization. Some of the board members said they would never accept an agreement.

Conflict number five was really not a conflict, but a major issue in that a 45 million dollar bond issue was passed during the time of this study. It passed by a total of 10,000 votes out of 80,000 that voted. It included much capital improvement for the center city area. Several whites stated that this was passed "to keep the Negroes quiet for awhile." A major question was where the new schools would be located and whether the location of these would be an effort to achieve racial integration or whether the effort would be made to improve education in separate black and white schools. The district was limited in the amount of local funds that it could raise and even more limited as to the amount of state funds available. Financially the district was under severe constraint.

Communication was listed by many as a major problem in the organizational structure. Almost all persons interviewed stated that internal communication was a major problem. Teachers, principals, and other staff personnel felt they did not know what was happening within the system. The relations between school system and the community were strained. Conflicting data published by the school system and by three citizens groups contributed to this tension. The news media had given full coverage to the citizens' reports which were highly critical of the school system. Most leaders felt that the issue was not communication, but a better understanding of the problems and the fact that the problems were not the kind that lend themselves to immediate solutions. Most of the whites interviewed felt that the problem was the structure of the district. The school system was studying its communication system and planned to make major modifications. Two staff members had been employed to assist in the external communication, and all groups interviewed felt that the results of the study and the additional personnel would help in the achievement of goals.

Summary Analysis of Conflicts in Selected School Districts

Fifteen separate types of conflicts were described in the five systems. Racial integration, student unrest, internal communication, professional bargaining, and acquisition of funds were some of the major conflicts cited. Conflicts were more likely to develop between the community groups and the central administration, with teachers versus administration a close second. Table 3-1 summarizes the thirteen types of conflicts and indicates that in most cases organizational change resulted from the conflict. In only six of the thirty issues was there lack of change in the organizational structure indicated.

Table 3-2 summarizes the thirty conflicts in the five school districts. This table shows for each district whether the data indicated that organizational structure was a major, minor, or unrelated source of the conflict. Under the column entitled "Treatment" is indicated the scale of decision making characterizing the conflict as: (a) Closed—administrative decision based on vested authority with no access of others to decision making, (b) Access—group opposing administrative policy has opportunity to express ideas, (c) Participation—groups effected involved in decision, (d) Open—free exchange of ideas and decision represents opinions of those concerned, (e) Legal—decision is made by constituted legal authority (i.e., the courts). The final two columns of the table indicate whether those interviewed felt that the goal achievement of the school administration and of the opposition to the administration had been helped or hindered in each conflict studied.

The existing organizational structure in twenty-six of the thirty confrontations contributed to the development of conflict. In sixteen of the conflicts it was a major cause. This serves to indicate that administrators should study what is happening within the organizational structure so that conflict might be lessened. The most common method of treatment was access with the second most frequent method being legal action. Few of the school systems involved opposition groups whether within or without the system to any significant extent with the decision process. At best their views were listened to and considered.

The administrative goals were hindered as a result of the conflict in twenty-one cases and the opposition goals were helped in twenty-one of the cases. The administrative goals were helped in only eight cases, and the opposition goals were hindered in only five cases. This seems to indicate that the system will be compelled to make a modification of its structure in the majority of the cases of confrontation politics. Also implied is the need for organizational flexibility.

In some instances the leaders of the opposition and the educational officials felt that both the opposition and administration goals were helped as a result of the conflict. In future studies of the dynamics of city school administration attention might be given to how conflict might result in the attainment of the legitimate goals of all groups concerned.

TABLE 3-1

Summation of Conflicts in Large School Districts

Source of Conflict	No. of Systems Citing Conflict	Modification in Organizational Structure
Racial Integration	5	5 yes
Student Unrest and Boycotts	4	4 yes
Internal Communication	4	3 yes, 1 no
Professional Bargaining	3	3 yes
Acquisition of Funds	3	2 no, 1 yes
Quality Education for Blacks	2	2 yes
Sex Education	2	2 yes
Teacher Strike	2	1 yes, 1 no
Black High School	1	1 no
Funds for Parochial Schools	1	1 no
Role of Principals	1	1 yes
Open Board Meetings	1	1 yes
Teacher Grievances	1	1 yes
	30	

TABLE 3-2

Confrontation Conflicts in Large School Districts

System A - (Unified City-County)

Conflict Description	Organizational Structure as Source of Conflict	Treatment	Achievement of Administrative Goals	Achievement of Opposition Goals
Integration	Unrelated	Legal/Access	Hindered	Helped
Teacher Grievances	Major	Access	Helped	Helped
Role of Principals	Major	Participation	Helped	Helped
Fiscal Dependency	Major	Access	Helped	Unchanged
Black High School	Unrelated	Access	Hindered	Unchanged
Student Boycott	Minor	Participation	Hindered	Helped

System B - (Unified City-County)

Conflict Description	Organizational Structure as Source of Conflict	Treatment	Achievement of Administrative Goals	Achievement of Opposition Goals
Internal Communication	Major	Access	Helped	Helped
Teacher Strike	Major	Access	Hindered	Hindered
Integration	Unrelated	Legal/Participation	Hindered	Helped
Sunshine Law	Major	Legal	Hindered	Helped
Sex Education	Unrelated	Open	Helped	Hindered
Student Boycott	Minor	Legal/Participation	Hindered	Helped

TABLE 3-2—*Continued*

System C - (Regional Decentralization)

Conflict Description	Organizational Structure as Cause	Treatment	Achievement of Administrative Goals	Achievement of Opposition Goals
Teacher Strike	Major	Closed	Hindered	Hindered
Integration	Unrelated	Closed	Unchanged	Unchanged
Parochial Schools	Major	Legal	Hindered	Hindered
Student Policies	Minor	Legal/ Access	Hindered	Helped
Internal Communication	Major	Access	Hindered	Hindered
Sex Education	Unrelated	Open	Hindered	Helped

System D - (Instructional Service Decentralization)

Conflict Description	Organizational Structure as Cause	Treatment	Achievement of Administrative Goals	Achievement of Opposition Goals
Integration	Unrelated	Legal/ Access	Hindered	Helped
Professional Bargaining	Major	Participation	Hindered	Helped
Quality Education for Blacks	Major	Access	Hindered	Helped
Student Unrest	Minor	Legal/ Access	Hindered	Helped
Acquisition of Funds	Unrelated	Open	Hindered/ Helped	Unchanged/ Helped
Internal Communications	Major	Access	Helped	Helped

TABLE 3-2—*Continued*

	System E - (Regional Decentralization)			
Conflict Description	Organizational Structure as Cause	Treatment	Achievement of Administrative Goals	Achievement of Opposition Goals
Student Integration	Unrelated	Legal/ Access	Hindered	Helped
Faculty Integration	Major	Legal/ Access	Hindered	Helped
Quality Education for Blacks	Major	Access	Hindered	Helped
Professional Bargaining	Major	Participation	Hindered	Helped
Acquisition of Funds	Unrelated	Open	Hindered	Unchanged
Internal Communications	Major	Access	Helped	Helped

Literature Concerning Student vs. Administration Conflict

Another source of conflict which was reported but not discussed in the above section involves student conflict with the school administration. The purpose of this section is to review the literature relative to the participation of student leaders in confrontation politics. This is followed by another section that discusses school policies that have been developed to deal with student unrest.

The 1960s will be reported in American history as the decade of the revolt of youth, and the 1970's show indications of being either the decade of destruction by youth or the decade of participation and involvement. Gottlieb (1969), McKenney (1969), and Bradbolt (1970) attempted to describe some of the causes of student dissent. They view adolescence as a period of life when youth make decisions about themselves—who they are and what they are to be. It is a period when one is supposed to go beyond his immediate setting in order to see himself within the larger framework of society. This task is made difficult, and almost impossible, in a society which is in a constant state of change and transition. The options that are open to students were presented by Frymier (1970) when he described the five possible avenues. These options are as follows:

1. When a person (or persons) feels oppressed, denied, or restrained, he can request a change from "the powers that be." He can complain and thus attempt to persuade them to bring about change.
2. If this fails, he can "go-over-the-head" of that individual or group who is oppressing him and try to convince them.
3. He can give in and knuckle under.
4. He can get out and leave the situation entirely.
5. He can physically revolt.

He sees the basic issue as the governance of the system and suggests that the system must be changed with youthful participation.

In a look at the student himself, some writers believe that the youngster with unusual talent or intellectual gifts has multiple opportunities, but for others the doors are closed and the search for self seems to be hemmed in at every point by a multitude of requirements and demands to conform. Therefore, they form a society of their own wherein the emphasis is on the needs of adolescence rather than the needs of adults.

According to the report of the Committee on Adolescence of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry in School Management (November, 1968), a sense of permanency is lacking. The time sense is distorted, and most youth have a strong sense of immediacy.

The extent of student activism has been documented by the U. S. House of Representatives in the Congressional Record (February 23, 1970). In a survey of all of the high schools in the United States (Approximately half of the high schools responded) 18 percent of all high schools reported student dissent. In city public schools with significant increase in ethnic enrollments in the last five years, every high school had student protest. In a study by Trump and Hunt (1969) 67 percent of all city schools surveyed were experiencing some protest, and 53 percent of all rural schools. They also studied the issues and categorized them as protests on school regulations, race relations, other social and political problems, the instructional program, faculty affairs, and the need for better communications. In the study by the U. S. House of Representatives the issues were categorized as follows: curriculum policies, dress codes, student political organizations, general disciplinary rules, teacher and principal problems, school services and facilities, outside speakers, racial issues (percentage of teachers from minority groups, ethnic studies programs), and issues not relating to school or education itself. The National School Public Relations Association in a document, *High School Student Unrest* (1969), described the issues as race, dress, attitudes, closed system, lack of prevention, lack of communication, thou shalt nots, dress codes, smoking, drugs, underground newspapers, student desire for participation, irrevelant curriculum, and black studies. Melancon (1969) described the major issues as pregnancy, discipline, teacher behavior and performance, lunch time, and student activities.

The study by the U. S. House of Representatives (1970) described the five major tactics of student protest: boycott, strike, riot, sit-in, and underground newspapers. A study also documented the participation of nonstudents in the protest movement. The Bureau of Education and Research Service at the University of Oregon in a publication entitled *Activism in Secondary Schools* (1969) reported the causes of student unrest in three broad categories: societal, school, and personal. Throughout the literature on protest the continuing themes of relevancy and participation showed in almost every article. Gifford (1969) described the setting in terms of five societal conditions and then discusses the results of these societal conditions in the creation of six problems that are faced by the students. The students are then faced with the necessity of reacting to these problems, and the authors described the alternative actions and the reactions that these actions then produced. Erickson (1970) also defined adolescence as a middle of an overdefined past and overdefined future and postulated that a psychological moratorium period where youth can dramatize and experiment with both infantile and adult behavior is necessary. He stated, "The complexity of today's society and the close interaction of people tends to prevent this in the traditional patterns." He viewed student militancy or violence as an outgrowth of student interaction with societal conditions. In a report in Connecticut, Havighurst (1966) described adolescence as a period of biological development which is the same for all races. He also documented the need for a moratorium period and he described how the lack of this and the changing societal situation provide the twin rivers that feed student unrest. Kukla (1970) defined the student rebellion as a protest in black and white. In this article the characteristics of the white student activists and the black student activists are discussed along with their similarities. He then presented the demands of the students which can be basically summarized as the need to meet the world in the classroom and to have more voice in student affairs.

Carter (1967) dealt with the legal responsibilities in the public schools for dealing with minority group members. He discussed the problems of integration, resegregation and segregation, documented it not only with court cases, but selected incidents. The close correlation with pupil failure and meeting the legal obligations to minority groups was a factor in student dissent. The U. S. House of Representatives Study (1970) showed the following actions as the most common: appointment of faculty student committees, meetings with parents, meetings with minority groups, alteration of various school rules, and approvement of student political organizations or underground newspapers. In an article on handling student protest, Spiegel (1968) tried to document some philosophical concepts that underlie dealing with student protest. Basically his comment was that actions speak louder than words, and policies need to reflect this. Six courses of action were suggested by Glatthorn (1968): (1) constant dialogue between administration and students; (2) keep the hand off of student newspaper; (3) beat the students to the punch because most of their demands are legitimate; (4) negotiate but do not advocate; (5) put student protest into the curriculum; and (6) go to the bat for the students when they are right.

Ackerly (1969) and Andes (1969) began by defining the concept of due process for students. Ackerly then suggested positions on some seven of ten issues which he felt would lessen the student protest and would meet the problems before they became cancerous or disruptive. He also included an analysis of the landmark law cases. Andes (1969, pp. 109-10) described the following nine steps which he felt would meet both the legal and educational needs for dealing with students:

1. Notice delivered to the student containing a statement of specific charges and grounds which, if proved, would justify expulsion under duly established regulations.

2. A reasonable opportunity to answer the charges in writing.

3. A hearing which gives the impartial disciplinary body time to hear both sides in detail and allows the student to produce his defense by witness or written affidavits of witnesses.

4. The right to examine and cross-examine witnesses against him.

5. Representation by "counsel" or other friend in court.

6. Action to be taken only by authorized duly established disciplinary body organized and operated by well defined procedures.

7. A transcript or verbatim record, such as a tape recording, of the hearing.

8. Results and findings of the hearing to be presented in a report open to the student's inspection.

9. The right of appeal to an authority higher than the disciplinary body.

Moyers (1968) suggested constructive channels for participation in a meaningful manner for the dissenters. He felt that creative forms of dissent need to be developed. This will usually require change on the part of the system to make the experiences of students more meaningful, and more relevant. In a recent issue of *School Management* (November, 1968) the methods used by five school districts for dealing with student unrest were described. These five districts gave a pattern of success and failure. Eight approaches for student participation were discussed in detail in *Nations Schools* (September, 1969): Curriculum consultants, advisory groups, sanctioned critics, teachers, community leaders, administration, teacher evaluation, and free form learners. Ashbaugh (1969) described nine tested approaches for coping with conflict situations: maintain lines of communication, control influences and force attendance, talk with student leaders, consider third party mediation, identify student demands, respond to student demands, hear all viewpoints, decide on a course of action, and institutionalize student participation. Adams (1969) described a conference of college administrators with public school administrators in which five specific suggestions were made:

(1) administrators and faculty members must agree on attitudes and methods of meeting confrontation; (2) faculty should keep in touch with individual students and through them with community problems; (3) satisfy necessity for peer group relationships by hiring young people from the community to work with students in evaluating needs and putting demands into acceptable terms; (4) recognize that the institution can anticipate demands and make concessions, but that other demands will follow, be firm but patient, drop rules that are meaningless; and (5) make reasonable reforms and do not get hung-up on personal abuse or crude language which is behavior calculated to anger the administration. Tribble (1970) describes the use of trust as a preventive measure.

Hart (1970) described some specific activities of prevention which might assist in lessening the cancerous effect of student violence. The main emphasis was on meaningful involvement of students, and he suggested many constructive ways of student involvement, especially in the area of curriculum. Fantini and Weinstein (1967) described the effect of the affective area of student experiences on academic content and academic learning in the public schools. They stressed that in a curriculum affective dimensions should direct the cognitive, and thus the two dimensions are linked. In order to be meaningful and relevant the curriculum content must be germane to the student's knowledge of his own experience, and his feelings should be used as a basis on which to teach subject matter.

The literature and research of student activism contains many examples of incidents of student unrest, activism, and disorder. This literature contains various suggestions on how to deal with it but without any common conceptual framework of analysis. As a result of this lack of conceptual framework, a study was made of the policies of student control in operating school districts.

Policies for Student Unrest in Large School Systems

The staff for this project was unable to locate information concerning policies for leadership involving student militancy. Therefore, a survey was made of 68 of the largest school disctricts in the United States.

The districts were asked: (1) if they had policies on student unrest; (2) what led to their development; (3) how they were developed; and (4) how they had worked if they had been followed. A distinction was made between policies for student discipline and policies on student unrest. The results of the survey will be reported in this section.

Thirty-four of the 68 districts reporting had policies on student unrest. Eleven additional districts were in the process of developing policies on student unrest. The remaining twenty-three districts did not have and were not planning to develop such policies. Returns from most of these latter districts expressed the view that student unrest "could not happen to them."

Sixty-seven percent of the districts with policies developed them *after* a student unrest situation developed in their district. Several superintendents commented that other districts should not make the same mistake and should have well developed procedures prior to the development of conflict. The second major reason for developing such policies was student unrest in an adjoining district.

The superintendent of a large metropolitan district wrote that the major weakness of the policies was lack of communication between teachers, parents, and students. This was understandable in his district as only central office personnel and principals participated in developing the policies. The major groups who participated in the development of policies on student unrest were: board of education, central administration, principals, teachers, guidance personnel, students, parents, and local police.

The districts that have had student problems developed their policies earlier than the districts that had not experienced such conflicts. Many of the policies were developed by those in the administrative structure of the school district. This resulted in lack of understanding on the part of teachers, guidance personnel, students, parents, and local police. These are the groups who have the most intimate contact with protesting and disruptive students. The districts that had developed their policies most recently had increased the participation of all of these groups except parents and had decreased the participation of boards of education in the development stage. The boards of education acted upon recommended policies and made them official district policy.

Those districts which reported having administrative policies governing student conflict were asked to send copies to the research staff for the project. These policies were analyzed. The purpose of this section is to present a discussion of the kinds of policy statements submitted.

The policies were very divergent and only one item was found in every policy (procedure for immediate suspension of disruptive students). Some policies consisted of a simple paragraph stating that the district would not tolerate disruptive acts. Others were compiled into a small booklet. Their distribution ranged from "confidential, central office use only" to distribution to teacher, press, civic groups, and in two cases to student government. The greater the distribution, the less the lack of communication was cited as a weakness of the policies. The more extensive policies were claimed by their developers to be more effective in giving better guidance to the school administrator.

The content of the policies was divided into these time periods: (1) components for action prior to student unrest, (2) components for action during student unrest, and (3) components for action after student unrest.

The components of policies of the school districts concerning action which should be taken prior to student unrest are given below. The numbers in parenthesis to the left of each item indicate the percent of the policy statements which included that item.

(52.2) 1. *Policies on student unrest integrated in total student policies.*

(56.5) 2. *A philosophical background on student unrest.*

(56.5) 3. *Procedures for prevention of student unrest.*

(65.2) 4. *Procedures for developing individual school policies.*

(52.2) 5. *Compilation of state laws and policies on student unrest.*

Many of the districts (52.2 percent) integrated board policies with the regular student policy handbooks. Other areas covered were philosophic background, suggestions for preventing unrest, development of school policies, and laws relating to student behavior. Some of the policy statements emphasized prevention of conflict.

Of some interest was the tendency in policy statements to view student unrest as internal to the school organization. Yet, as presented earlier in this chapter, evidence was found that school disruptions may be led by leaders in the community. School districts might well emphasize that in this period of confrontation politics schoolmen can no longer follow the myth that the public schools are insulated from the political dynamics of the community. They must provide leadership in the community in order to be viewed as leaders in the school setting. This point of view should be reflected in policy statements concerning the prevention of student unrest.

The written policies contained much material relative to administrative action during periods of student militancy. The items found covered in this area are given below. The numbers in parentheses indicate the percent of policy statements covering each item.

(47.8) 7. *Procedures for school alert.*

(39.1) 8. *Procedures for police alert.*

(86.9) 9. *Procedures for central office coordinator.*

(13.0) 10. *Procedures for notification of adjacent schools.*

(86.9) 11. *Final authority for securing and working with police.*

(69.6) 12. *Procedures for handling nonstudents.*

(60.9) 13. *Procedures for handling nonparticipating students.*

(78.3) 14. *Procedures for handling participating students.*

(65.2) 15. *Procedures for faculty, staff, and administrators.*

(60.9) 16. *Procedures for dealing with press, radio and TV personnel.*

(60.9) 17. *Provisions for written log.*

(39.1) 18. *Provisions for visual log (video tape or film).*

(52.2) 19. *Provisions for leader identification.*

(21.7) 20. *Procedures for securing central office team.*

(60.9) 21. *Procedures for "closing campus."*

(69.6) 22. *Procedures for closing school.*

(100.0) 23. *Procedures for immediate suspension of disruptive students.*

(39.1) 24. *Procedures for arrest of disruptive persons.*

(8.7) 25. *Automatic suspension of athletic events.*

(8.7) 26. *Provisions for use of student ID cards.*

(30.4) 27. *Provisions for telephone control.*

(13.0) 28. *Provisions for disruptive employees.*

The advisability of alerting teachers, police, central office, and adjacent schools when student unrest seems imminent was stressed as one of the strong points by most districts. Time to prepare is necessary and an early alert may prevent the spread of the disruption. Provision for immediate suspension of disruptive students was the only component found in every policy. The second most frequent component was the designation of the person (or position) who had the final authority to call for police assistance.

Most of the policy statements provided procedures for dealing with the many types of individuals who are present in and around a school during an unrest situation. Different procedures were needed for each group and careful planning was necessary.

This was especially true for uncertificated personnel. Several of the policies had a series of "due process" steps including statements that were to be read. In two policy statements the procedure called for the central office team to take over when they arrived, but in most policies they were present to provide assistance to the principal.

The necessity for an accurate record of the disruptive events was recognized in those policies. The use of a written log and video and film record were the most frequent methods. These records also assist in leader identification. The designation of one person to work with press, radio, and TV personnel was cited by most districts that had experienced some student unrest. Most emphasized that the media representatives had a right to accurate and consistent knowledge. Several policies listed the procedure for appointment of persons to this task alone.

The prevention of outsiders from entering the building led most districts to spell out a procedure for creating a "closed campus" where none could enter or leave except with permission. Some districts included a provision to cut off the use of all telephones (pay included) except the main office phone which was under administration control. The authority to close the school was carefully spelled out in most policies. Procedures for closing the school and insuring the safe departure of students and staff were also listed in most policies. The use of student ID cards appeared to be increasing especially in large urban secondary schools, although some districts questioned its effectiveness. Several districts had a policy that automatically cancelled all athletic events when a disruption occurred.

The components of policies on student unrest that dealt with action following the unrest were:

(47.8) 29. *Provisions for legal prosecution of disrupters.*

(13.0) 30. *Procedures for reopening of a school.*

(60.9) 31. *Notification of parents of suspended students.*

(60.9) 32. *Due process for suspended students.*

(35.8) 33. *Written record of the entire incident.*

(8.7) 34. *Consideration of suggestions for change in policies.*

Several districts suggested that they needed:

35. *Procedures for public information to parents and media after the incident.*

The components of student unrest policies that provided for guidance after an incident served two major functions: (1) how to handle persons who participated in the incident and (2) how to resume the educational operations. Most of these components were carefully written to ensure the best protection for participants and administrators.

The mailed questionnaire and the review of policy statements developed by school districts seemed to emphasize the following guidelines:

> *Maximum participation of all groups that are affected by an incident of student unrest.* Their participation in planning will enhance communication and effectiveness of the final policy.
>
> *Separate policies developed at each school.* The district policies provide guidelines and the school policies are the operational plan. Each school is unique to some degree and has special needs and problems.
>
> *The development and utilization of a preventative measure.* Removal of those conditions which encourage student conflict should be emphasized.
>
> *Continual revision of school and district policies on student unrest.* Conditions are not constant and policies need to be revised to consider changes in tactics or objectives.
>
> *Consistency and fairness in the implementation of policies on student unrest will have an effect on future incidents.* When students and staff members know in advance the outcomes of certain actions this will affect their behavior. School administrators who are consistent in their behavior seem to have experienced fewer succeeding incidents.

Teacher Militancy and Teacher vs. Administrator Conflict

Teacher militancy increased significantly during the decade prior to the initiation of this study. Collective use of power by teachers has been especially characteristic of large city school districts today. This has resulted in increased teacher versus administration conflict. As the intensity of teacher collective action has increased, interest in organization theory has heightened.

There was much speculation about the inadequacy of traditional models of organization as teacher militancy increased and administrators experienced changing roles.

The historical background and causes of teacher collective action were reviewed by Steffensen (1964), Nolte (1965), Snow (1963), Cohodes (1966), Lieberman (1966, 1967)

Moskow (1965a, 1965b, 1966), and Blanke (1966). Considerable attention has been focused upon the rivalry between the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the National Education Association (NEA) as they contend for organizational representation of teachers. Among those discussing this rivalry were Lieberman (1960), Betchkal (1964), Elam (1964), Carr (1964), Megel (1964a, 1964b), Moskow (1965a, 1965b), Steet (1964), Steffensen (1964), Perry (1965), and Wildman and Perry (1966). The differences between the organizations and their chief instrument for formalizing what Steffensen (1964, p. 1) termed "school board-staff-superintendent" relationships have also been extensively examined by several of the authors mentioned above. The literature of the various organizations also contains much of this information. Both the AFT and the NEA have provided historical reviews of their organizations and purposes in *Organizing the Teaching Profession* (1955) and *NEA: The First Hundred Years* (1957), respectively. Arguments pro and con for both organizations have been offered by Steet (1964), Carr (1964), Megel (1964a, 1964b), Evans (1963), Elam (1964), Selden (1966), Rice (1961, 1965), Wyatt (1965), Thornberry (1965), and Epstein (1965). Wisniewski (1970) called for educators to become leaders and to make a commitment to change if they were to prevent the extremes of teacher militancy. Vander Werf (1970) suggested three responsibilities of professionalism: (1) preparation, (2) criteria for admission to profession, and (3) elimination of incompetence. He felt these would reduce the extremes of militancy.

Research centering on the differences between membership characteristics of each group has been done by Lowe (1965). In perhaps the most extensive research effort on teacher collective action, the staff for USOE Cooperative Research Project 2444 (1963) (conducted by the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago) examined a number of factors relating to the differences in modes of operations and formal bargaining procedures of the AFT and the NEA and assessed the impact of collective activities upon the administration of local school districts. In addition, this project also involved assessing the legal status of teachers involved in collective bargaining and attempted to ascertain the impact of traditional industrial labor law concepts and procedures in the field of education. Legal reviews in relation to teacher collective action and school board-staff-superintendent relationships have also been reported by Moskow (1965a) and Kite (1965). Meier (1966) examined control structures in two school districts with specific emphasis upon their association with teacher organizations.

Cohodes (1966) noted that the procedures of the NEA are drawing closer to those of the AFT. Moskow (1965b, p. 455) stated that there was no significant difference between the approaches of the NEA and the AFT (Epstein (1965) felt that there was little difference between collective bargaining, an AFT instrument, and professional negotiation, and NEA instrument. Several authors suggested that the two competing groups should, or shall, be combined into a single organization or that a separate organization will arise. Blanke (1966) felt that examination of traditional labor practices in relation to public education would be unfruitful because public education differs institutionally from private industry. Shils and Whittier (1968) did such a comparison and discussed the premises underlying the AFT and NEA position.

Epstein (1965, p. 232) found that the major demands made by teachers' organizations included salary improvement, fringe benefits, elimination of nonprofessional duties, reduction of class size, grievance procedures, freedom from administrative pressure, and miscellaneous demands. Substantial agreement was voiced by Wildman and Perry (1966, pp. 249-50) who reported eight sources of conflict among teacher groups and school organizations. These writers specifically listed overall support levels, allocation of funds, distribution of salary dollars, class size, seniority, teacher transfers, teacher assignments, and working conditions as areas of interest. Steffensen (1964) reported similar demands, and the numerous reports of specific action from various sources would tend to confirm them. Epstein (1965), Selden (1966), reports of demands made in Detroit (1965), New York (Rice, 1965), and Michigan suburbs (1965) indicated that an increased voice in policy decisions was demanded by teachers.

Such demands and the manner in which they are made are not viewed without apprehension by some educators. A recent unsigned article in *School Management* reviewed fears created by negotiation with teachers, including suggestions that such action might threaten the authority of the school board, threaten the administrative authority within the schools, destroy or shake unity of purpose and effort, and confuse the role of the superintendent.

Brown (1966) expressed the traditional view that collective bargaining was built upon fear rather than leadership esteem. Rice (1965) wrote that spokesmen for militant teachers' organizations tend to overlook the long-term resentment of the public. Wildman and Perry (1966, p. 251) issued a cautious warning against acceptance of the adversary concept of collective bargaining as found in industry.

A report in the *Michigan Education Journal* (1965) also suggested that professional negotiations may have hurt public relations, but actually improved staff-superintendent relations without noticeably affecting the school board. Riche (1965, p. 41) expressed concern that collective action may give teachers' organizations power to force decisions upon school boards. In discussing the widely publicized situation in Utah in 1963, Evans (1964) found that the great emphasis upon publicizing did not help the citizens of Utah understand educational needs.

A substantial amount of apprehension among educators appeared to arise from the establishment of an unfamiliar "power relationship," as described by Moskow (1965b), Perry (1965), Wildman and Perry (1966), and Selden (1966), and this apprehension is implicit in writings by Corwin (1965), Steffensen (1964), Evans (1963), and Lieberman (1960).

Among the demands made by teachers, none are more widespread than those dealing with fiscal policy. Moskow (1965b) pointed out that obtaining funds to support education inevitably involves power struggles. James, Kelly, and Garms (1966, p. 64) in a recent report of USOE Cooperative Research Project 2389 which dealt with determinants of educational expenditures in large cities, examined the relationship between teachers and salaries and concluded that demands from teachers themselves, competition for teachers in the labor market, and revenue were important factors in the issue of teachers' salaries. Since salaries of instructional staff comprise a major portion of operational expenditures, collective action would have an association with the determination of educational support. The insistance of teachers' organizations that their representatives be included in determining salaries produce changes in the role of the superintendent and in organization procedures.

Attention in the literature has been turned directly to the role of the superintendent and teacher collective action. Dykes (1965) noted that the rise of teacher militancy placed the superintendent in a difficult position insofar as membership in the teaching profession is concerned. Wilson (1965) contended that personnel management is a major problem and that the superintendent is being forced into a new role by collective negotiations. He also raised the question of who will assume the role functions which the superintendent once held. Garber (1966) stated that the superintendent cannot enter into conflict with teachers concerning salaries and continue to be recognized as their leader in other areas. Perry (1965) noted that the superintendent's role appears to be the key variable in negotiation structures. He felt that superintendents must modify this role. Corwin (1965) stated that the prospect of growing conflict among professionals within school systems is likely to transform traditional leadership functions of school administration. Engleman (1966, p. 35) wrote that the superintendent's position is virtually untenable in some situations. Unruh (1965) in calling for analysis of the structure of professional organization and the organization of school administration, stated that the superintendent may hold a very critical position but that the principal occupies the most vulnerable position in the conflict between teachers and the board. Thus it appears that the superintendent's role may be undergoing revision along with changes in the roles of other school administrators. Perhaps the superintendent should not attempt to act as the negotiator for the board, but rather serve, as Perry (1965) suggested, as the negotiation controller or coordinator.

Three possible roles of the superintendent in negotiation are described by Allen (1966). He stated that, when the superintendent represents management, his role as an educational leader is jeopardized. The attitudes of four groups (NEA, AFT, AASA, NSBA) of professional educators were compared, respecting the role of the superintendent in negotiations by Shils and Whittier (1968). They described several unresolved aspects of the superintendent's role. Urich (1968) investigated the amount of agreement of professional educators on the superintendent's role and developed significant factors for urban and rural districts.

Commenting on the methods of operation of the superintendent and teacher collective action, Corwin (1965) wrote that the use of benevolent methods in working with teachers will not necessarily change teachers' relations with administrators unless supplemented with structural changes. Perry (1965) contended that a basic change in the organizational change is essential. Corwin (1965) suggested that militant professionalism is aimed at reducing the control over education traditionally held by school administrators and the lay public.

An additional factor considered in the literature as related to teacher collective action was the bureaucracy of the school system. Palardy (1970) cited the need for structural changes due to the growing militancy of teachers and administrators. The bureaucratic resistance to change was described by Sexton (1966) along with the role of conservatives in school budgets. According to Solomon (1961) organizations attempting to provide goods or services efficiently are typically organized along hierarchial lines. Many authorities see the continued bureaucratization of educational activities. Epstein (1965) saw a rise in complicated grievance procedures. He felt that the cumbersome grievance machinery would complicate dismissal of incompetent persons. This is also described by Dubel (1969), Gisriel (1967), Kleinmann (1968), and Ream and Walker (1967). Levine (1967) prepared a description of a big city school district which would include the grievance function.

Scott (1963) has suggested three phases in the development of organizational theory. The first of these he called classical doctrine which is based on the four elements, division of labor, scalar and functional processes, structure, and span of control. Classical doctrine in America was an outgrowth of the work of Frederick W. Taylor (1947). The second phase of organization theory, neoclassical doctrine, accepts the basis of classical doctrine but also takes into account the effects of individual behavior and the workings of the informal organization. Modern organization theory denies neither the elements of classical nor neoclassical doctrine but insists upon viewing the organization as a system. This viewpoint assumes interaction of a galaxy of mutually dependent variables that simultaneously affect the organization.

In discussing the nature of a rationally organized social structure, Merton (1957) stated that in such an organization all activity, ideally, is functionally related to the purpose of the organization. The organization is characterized by clearly defined roles, regulations that are impersonal in nature, and strict control through authority that resides in positions rather than in the whims of the individuals holding the positions.

Weber (1947) suggested that bureaucracy is characterized by division of work along lines of specilization, office hierarchy, general rules, formalistic impersonality, and a tenure system for personnel. Merton (1957) suggested that the chief merit of bureaucracy is its technical efficiency. He further suggested, along with Gouldner (1954), Selznick (1949), and Anderson (1966), that not all consequences of bureaucracy are anticipated by its architects nor are they all desirable. Anderson wrote that the dysfunctional consequences of bureaucratic rules are goal displacement, role distortion, reinforcement of apathy, legalism, impersonal relations with the public, avoidance of responsibility, and formation of informal groups. Getzels (1963) has attempted to explain some organizational dysfunctions in terms of a social systems model emphasizing the two dimensions, organizational needs and individual needs.

Eizenstadt (1959) wrote that there is a strong emphasis by the bureaucracy on the extension of its powers beyond its initial purpose. Such a concept of extended bureaucratization has been supported by studies by Page (1952) who discovered that churches are characterized by bureaucracy and by Lipset, Traw, and Coleman (1956) who discovered bureaucracy existing in unions. Janowitz (1951) concluded that the career military man is the "ideal" bureaucrat. Berger (1957) wrote about the prevalence of modern bureaucracy in non-Western cultures. Crozier (1964) viewed bureaucracy as a variable in different societies and discussed the French model of bureaucracy, the Russian model of bureaucracy, and the American model of bureaucracy. Blau (1962) has suggested a relationship between size and extent of bureaucratization. Gouldner (1954), on the other hand, has stated that size may be important only because it generates other social forces which, in turn, generate bureaucratic patterns. Barnard (1938) has suggested that it is impossible to create a large organization except by combining small organizations. He further suggested that organizational units be kept small to facilitate communication.

Thompson (1961) has called for a collegial organizational structure. Argyris (1962) and Etzioni (1961) have further supported this idea by discussing the effects of the organization on the individual. DeSpelder (1967) suggested better means for participation by the worker and an enlargement of the scope of his job in the modern organization because workers are becoming better educated. Taylor's (1947) concept of man as a machine that can be economically motivated by purely economic rewards is questionable when viewed in terms of the above references. Man is, instead, an actor in a social system. Homans (1950) suggested that he is constantly interacting with those about him in terms of the social system.

Innovation and/or change is currently a popular topic in educational literature. Miles (1964) emphasized the importance of system inputs as factors producing organizational change. Lippitt, Watson, and Westley (1958) stated that willingness to change is essential in order to meet future problems. Bennis, Benne, and Chin (1961) reviewed several concepts concerning change with considerable emphasis upon systems theory. Trumbo (1961) felt that organizational change is related to the capacity of the organization to adjust to change. Little research attention has been directed to the association of teacher collective action and innovation. There is a tacit personal agreement among school administrators and some writers such as Miles (1964) and Lippitt (1965) that teachers are not really appropriate innovators. Yet, as noted earlier, teachers are demanding more and more voice in policy determination on matters affecting the need dispositions of teachers. Their demands are being felt. Consequently, their part in the change and/or innovative processes should be examined.

In recent years teachers have been involved in conflicts with the community. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville school in New York City has been studied by Ward (1969), Dentler (1969), Wasserman (1969), Usdan (1969), and Mayer (1969). The concept of community participation in education with teachers in a cooperative effort was presented by Firester (1970) and McDougal (1970). As indicated earlier in this discussion educators will probably experience power struggles in which numerous political forces in the community and the state will be involved.

Student attitudes toward teacher activism was described by Blendinger (1970) and the students were less than favorable. This teacher-student gap was explored along with avenues for improving relations by Kafka (1970) and Fish (1969). Brockmann (1965) felt that the "vast majority" of teachers are friendly and sympathetic to school boards and administrators alike. Lowe (1965) on the other hand, reported that his research showed only seven percent of all teachers in his survey thought that their school board was trying to help them.

The Ostrander Study (1969) used as an independent variable selected personal characteristics such as age, race, years experience in present system, years teaching, source of income, number of dependents, degree held, sex, marital status, and present teaching level. These independent variables were tested one at a time to determine if they might be significantly related to the attitudes scale variable involving teachers' sympathy with collective action, teachers' expectations regarding local teacher organizational goals, teachers' perceptions of fairness in treatment by others, and teachers' sympathy with the use of sanctions. Ostrander (1969, pp. 88-89) found that Negro respondents were more sympathetic with militancy and reported less job satisfaction than white teachers. Teachers who depended upon teaching as the only source of income were more sympathetic toward collective negotiations than persons who had outside sources of income. In addition, the Likert analysis by Ostrander was composed of summated scores which were said to reflect teachers' feelings of collective assertion discriminated on basis of degree held (Those with master's degrees had higher summated scores than those with bachelor's.) and race. Negro teachers had lower summated scores than whites. Significant differences were not found between teachers' selected characteristics such as age, race, years experience in the system, years of teaching experience, number of dependents for income tax purposes, highest degree, sex, marital status, and teaching level based on the five attitudes indicated except as noted in the above paragraph.

Sullins (1968) in an investigation of the relationship between selected personal characteristics and attitudes of secondary school teachers and their support of collective militant action, cited several findings. Those teachers who were most militant were male, had children in school, came from a labor background, attended liberal arts colleges, and had a major or minor in fields other than in English, journalism, or a language. Teachers who were female, did not have children in school, came from rural backgrounds, and majored or minored in English, journalism, or a language tended not to be strong supporters of teacher militancy. No significant differences were found between teachers' support or non-support of militancy on the basis of age, number of children in school, marital status, size of town where they spent their youth, degree held, subject taught, participation in extracurricular activities at the school, and participation in community organizations. In addition, black teachers seemed more inclined to support militancy than white teachers but statistical comparisons were not possible.

The Relationship of Teacher Attitudes and Personal Characteristics to Militancy

Members of the research staff for this project were interested in discovering whether certain attitudes and personal characteristics of teachers were related to militancy. This study, which was also reported by Warren (1970), is discussed in this section of the report. The instrument developed by Ostrander (1968) was used. The study was designed to obtain data and analyses relative to the following questions.

1. Based on factor analysis, what Likert-type attitude scales result from a reevaluation of the instrument developed by Ostrander (1968)?

2. How do the Likert scales developed by factor analysis compare with Ostrander's scalogram scales?

3. Can the Likert-type attitude scales developed from the Ostrander instrument be used to discriminate between teachers who identify themselves as militant or non-militant in a militant school system?

4. Can the Likert-type attitude scales developed from the Ostrander instrument be used to select groups of potential militants and potential non-militants in a militant and non-militant school system?

5. Are any of the selected personal characteristics used in the study useful as possible discriminators between potential militants and potential non-militants?

Procedures

The study was conducted using participants from two large urban school systems. One of the systems selected was classed as a militant system. A teacher strike had occurred in this district. The other school system was classed as a non-militant system—there had not been a strike or walkout in the district. A regular interval sampling technique was used to select participants from the two districts. The sample contained 492 participants from the militant system and 496 from the non-militant system.

The basic instrument used was developed by Ostrander (1968) using scalogram analysis. The items used are shown in Appendix F. The instrument was printed and mailed to the participants. The initial mailing was followed by two reminders. The mailing produced 225 usable responses from the militant system and 214 from the non-militant system. In terms of percentages, 47 percent of the teachers responded.

The statistical procedures used in analyzing the data were factor analysis, discriminate analysis, and the Chi square statistic. Factor analysis was used to develop Likert-type attitude scales from the instrument. Dsicriminant analysis was used to determine the ability of the scales to discriminate between militants and non-militants. The selection of potential militants and potential non-militants was also accomplished through use of discriminant analysis. The Chi square statistic was used to test possible use of the personal characteristics of teachers to discriminate between potential militants and potential non-militants in future studies.

Findings Scale Development

The first two questions involved scale development. The factor analysis produced four Likert attitude scales. The first scale included Ostrander instrument items 14, 21, 24, 25, 29, 32, 34, 36, 39, 42, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 57, 60 and 62 (see Appendix F). The second scale contained items 17, 22, 27, 30, 31, 35, 40, 44, and 52. The third scale contained items 11, 31, 32, 33, 37, 44, 47, 48, 58, 59, and 61 (see Appendix F). The fourth scale contained 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, 36, 38, 41, 45, 56, and 63.

When compared with the scalogram scales developed by Ostrander, the first Likert scale was found to have a strong resemblance to the Ostrander scale entitled "goals" using item content as a criterion. Using this same criterion, the second Likert scale resembled the Ostrander scale "fairness," the third resembled the Ostrander scale "collective action," and the fourth resembled the Ostrander scale "satisfaction." The factor analysis produced no Likert-type scale comparable to the Ostrander scale "sanctions." Based on the similarity between scales and inspection of items, three Likert-type scales retained the names used for the Ostrander scales. The first scale was entitled the goals scale, the third was called the collective action scale, and the fourth the satisfaction scale. Although there was a similarity between the second Likert scale and the scalogram scale entitled "fairness," the enlarged content of the Likert-type scale resulted in using the term "working conditions scale."

Discriminating Ability of the Scales

Questions three and four dealt respectively with the use of the four Likert-type attitude scales to discriminate between militants and non-militants. The four Likert-type attitude scales were used successfully to discriminate between militant and non-militant teachers in the militant system. The scales in order of their ability to discriminate, were the collective action scale, the goals scale, the working conditions scale, and the satisfaction scale. Their respective discriminant function coefficients were -0.00132 for the collective action scale, 0.00042 for the goals scale, -0.00027 for the working conditions scale, and -0.00018 for the satisfaction scale.

The discriminant function coefficients are the weights that when applied to the Likert-type attitude scales will best discriminate between the two groups. To determine to which group a particular teacher belonged, each of the attitude scale scores for that teacher was multiplied by its respective discriminant function coefficient to obtain a single criterion value. The teacher was then assigned to a group depending on whether the criterion value was above or below the discriminant function cut off value.

The selection of potential militants and potential non-militants from both systems was successful. Of the 225 respondents in the militant system, 140 were classified as potentially non-militant and 85 as potentially militant. Of the 214 respondents in the non-militant system 69 were classified as potentially militant and 145 as potentially non-militant.

Potential Militancy and Potential Non-Militancy

The final question identified was to test the personal characteristics items to determine their possible use as discriminators between potential militants and non-militants. The Chi square statistic was used to test the significance of age, years of teaching experience, years in present system, sex, marital status, degree held, number of dependents, teaching level, and income. At the .05 level only sex was found to be potentially useful as a discriminator between potential militants and potential non-militants. Males were found to be more militant than females.

Conclusions

This study was an exploratory field study. No claims for internal or external validity were made. Specifically, due to the nature of the design there was no attempt at variable control. Further, and more important, when considering generalizing the findings, it should be remembered that the percentage of returns was low and that the critical sample came from only two school systems. Consequently, no generalizable conclusions are offered. However, some hypotheses for further testing seem defensible. These are stated below.

1. The Ostrander instrument can be used to develop four valid and reliable Likert-type attitude scales measuring teachers' attitude toward teachers' organizational goals, teachers' attitudes toward job satisfaction, teachers' attitudes toward use of collective action, and teachers' attitudes toward working conditions.

2. The Likert-type attitude scales entitled the goals scale, the satisfaction scale, the collective action scale, and the working conditions scale can be used to discriminate between militant and non-militant teachers.

3. The Likert-type attitude scales entitled the goals scale, the satisfaction scale, the collective action scale, and the working conditions scale can be used to classify teachers as potentially militant or potentially non-militant.

4. The Likert scale entitled the collective action scale is the better discriminator between militants and non-militants.

5. The variable sex can be used to discriminate between militant and non-militant teachers.

6. The variables age, years of teaching experience, years in the present system, marital status, degree held, number of dependents, teaching level, and income source can not be used to discriminate between militants and non-militants.

Implications

One of the original justifications for the study was that the results might prove to be immediately applicable to decision makers in school systems and to teacher organizations. Because of the problem associated with validity, this goal was not attained by the study. To take the developed scales and use them to predict individual teacher's responses to militancy would be very questionable and quite probably dangerous if decisions were to be based on the results of the instrument. Injustices would be perpetrated against individual teachers were the instrument to be used to aid in selecting potential militant or potential non-militant teachers on an individual basis.

The same thing is probably true if data were treated as group data. Use of the instrument to predict the percentage of participation in a militant activity of the nature of a walkout or strike could not be done with any degree of certainty. The study might serve as a discrimination between militants and non-militants in another school system or it might not. Until further work is done, the study primarily has implications for the researcher.

A second justification for the study and its primary one was that the study might result in hypotheses for additional study of militancy. These hypotheses were stated in the previous section.

Implicit in the study is the general hypothesis that attitude scales may be used to discriminate between potentially militant and potentially non-militant teachers. This seemed to be supported. The four attitude scales developed were used successfully to discriminate between militants and non-militants and for the selection of potential militants and potential non-militants. However, a number of problems were uncovered that require additional research before the assignment of teachers to either a potential militant or a potential non-militant group can be made with any degree of predictable validity.

One of the first things that needs to be done is to refine and enlarge the item content of the scales. The use of the .3500 figure as sufficient for identifying an item with a scale could be raised, and new items could be developed for each scale. This difficulty was reflected in the low values found for the reliability coefficients. The problem was quite serious for the satisfaction scale with its coefficient of .5475.

A second problem that needs additional work is the establishment of a two-group discriminant function value that can be used to divide the participant into the potential militant or potential non-militant group. The value used in this study was developed using only one militant school system. A random sample from a large number of systems would be much more useful in developing a figure for dividing respondents into the two classifications. Using the larger sample, all that would be required would be repetition of the discriminant analysis for two groups and the stepwise discriminant analysis.

A third justification of the study was that it might contribute to the discussion about the relationship between attitudes and behavior. The investigation when completed did not make a direct contribution to this question for a number of reasons. First of all, the design was a post hoc design in the sense that it observed attitudes after behavior rather than attitudes before behavior. The failure to observe attitudes before behavior and to test the behavior of individual participants to see if they behaved as would have been expected from knowledge of the given attitude meant that little could be said about the predictive aspects of attitudes. Base line data on attitudes would be a requisite for associating prediction of behavior with knowledge of attitudes.

Second, the study did not measure the attitudes of persons toward militancy in a direct manner. Instead, it measured attitudes toward job satisfaction, teacher organizational goals, use of collective action, and working conditions and implied that these things were aspects of militancy. Measuring secondary attitudes and associating them with other attitudes is considerably different from making a direct measure of the attitudes of teachers toward militancy.

The connection between the four secondary attitudes and the primary attitude, militancy, was even more tenuous when it was noted that knowledge of a teacher's attitude toward job satisfaction, working conditions, and teacher organizational goals could not be directly associated with behavior. How, for example, would a teacher behave if he were dissatisfied with his job or working conditions? Would he be militant? It seemed that there were too many behavioral alternatives other than militancy open to a teacher in these cases. The goals scale, job satisfaction scale, and working conditions scale, indeed, proved less discriminating than the collective action scale. The collective action scale was the best discriminator and it seemed likely that at least part of the reason for its being the best discriminator was that it was a variable that implied action. That is, a person with a favorable attitude toward use of collective action would logically be expected to participate in collective action if he agreed with its purposes.

The implication of the above discussion is that variables which measure attitudes toward action objects are better than variables that are not associated with action in studying militancy. That is, militancy requires a commitment to action. This commitment to action rather than knowledge of feeling or conditions is important. Future studies should be oriented toward finding action variables rather than variables reflecting conditions.

Chapter Summary and Implications

Some of the most interesting data presented in this chapter were found in the studies of confrontations experienced in five selected urban school systems. These data demonstrated that, in most instances, groups in opposition to the school administration forced modifications in the existing administrative organizations. In many instances the participants in the conflicts thought that elements of the existing administrative organization were major causes of the confrontations. In a majority of the conflicts the school administrators perceived that they were hindered in achieving their goals, whereas those leaders opposing the administration reported success in goal achievement in a large majority of the conflicts.

These findings suggest the need to develop an organization for city school systems that is more flexible and responsive to community leaders, parents, students, and other citizens. The new system should be flexible and, above all, provide for effective participation in the development of goals. There was definite indication that the goals espoused by administrators were often in conflict with the goals of certain community leaders, teachers, and students. The organization should provide for processes to reduce the intensity of goal conflict among the many groups interested in public education.

This is not to suggest, however, that confrontations will be eliminated or, for that matter, should be eliminated. The authors are suggesting that appropriate organizational procedures will reduce the intensity of conflict and may indeed reduce the number of conflicts experienced.

In the traditional bureaucratic structure the school officials have tended to respond to the existing community conditions rather than to actively influence the development of conditions conducive to quality education. In many instances pressures have been met by organizational closedness as was demonstrated in the analysis presented in this chapter. This usually results in defensiveness and possibly increases the intensity of conflict. Thus, there is need for a shift away from the traditional mentality of the separation of education from politics. The new mentality should espouse effective political leadership to cooperate with other community leaders in developing school-community conditions conducive to quality schools. In many of the areas of the city, schoolmen should endeavor to initiate structures to facilitate positive interactions between the schools and their clients.

Some attention was given in this chapter to student unrest and teacher militancy. Schoolmen need to view these developments as related to the development of pluralism in other sectors of the society. As cities have grown in population and in complexity, many of them have experienced the development of pluralism. Teacher militancy and the demands for collective negotiations are forcing a pluralism in the educational profession which has not previously existed. The literature clearly reveals that this will change the leadership role of school superintendents and cause school principals of many districts to seek new bases for survival as leaders.

Student militancy is not unrelated to militancy exhibited by community groups and teachers. To a certain extent one might view students as emulating the processes used by adults. To a certain extent "civil disobedience" has been temporarily sanctioned by the society. Consequently, disruptive confrontation has been legitimized or, at least, tolerated as a means to achieve goals.

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CHAPTER IV

MODELS OF LARGE SCHOOL SYSTEM ORGANIZATION

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce and discuss a framework for conceptualizing models of school district organization and to discuss those administrative models commonly used in the United States at this time. The organizational patterns of 82 of the largest school districts in the nation will be described in brief. This description will form a background for a presentation and discussion of two centralized models and two decentralized administrative models which were in use at this writing. This is followed by a discussion of two proposed decentralized models.

The models for administrative organization of school districts which are presented in this chapter and in Chapter V were a result of the procedures explained in Chapter I. The process started with a review of the literature and a description of how urban school districts were organized. Numerous seminars were conducted with the superintendents of some of the largest school districts in the nation. Discussions were held with outstanding social scientists. These activities were followed by in-depth studies in selected large urban school districts.

Through these activities the research staff projected as many alternative new and existing organizational models as possible. Most of one year was devoted to conceptually field testing these models. About 562 persons were involved in this process. Included in the process were administrators of urban school systems, university professors, graduate students, school board members, and other citizens. Through the conceptual field testing process some proposed models were abandoned, others revised, and new models added. The result, therefore, was a description of those models judged by the persons participating in the process as the most feasible models for consideration.

Schematic Presentation of Organizational Models

A schematic presentation of the bureaucratic models discussed in this chapter and in Chapter V is presented in Figure 4-1. The exceptions to this would be the pluralistic models presented in Chapter V. Figure 4-1 describes the four

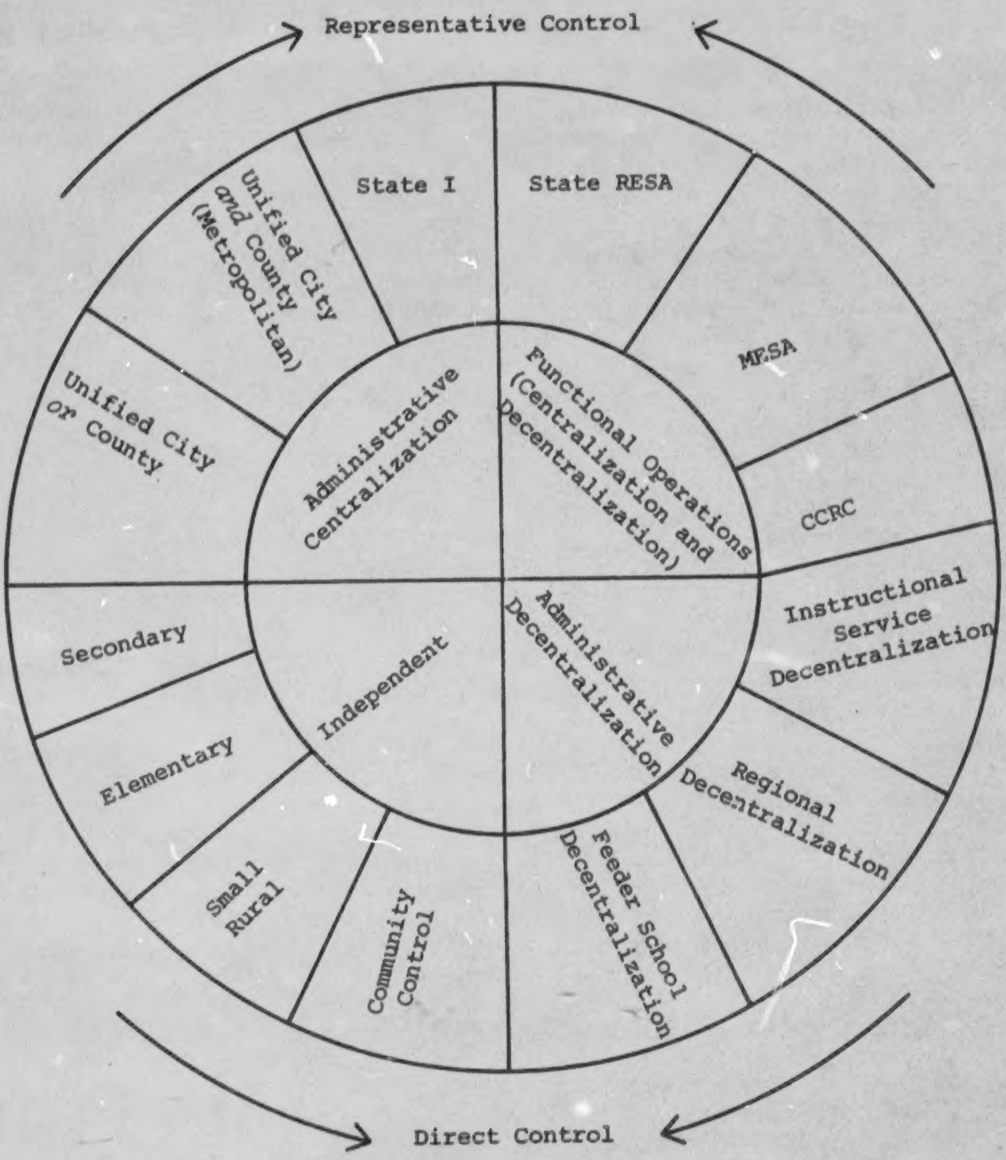

Representative Control
State I
State RESA
Unified City and County (Metropolitan)
MESA
Unified City or County
Administrative Centralization
Functional Operations (Centralization and Decentralization)
CCRC
Instructional Service Decentralization
Secondary
Independent
Administrative Decentralization
Elementary
Regional Decentralization
Small Rural
Community Control
Feeder School Decentralization
Direct Control

Figure 4-1. Type and control of bureaucratic models for school organization.

basic patterns of urban school organization: independent districts, centralized districts, functional operations districts, and administrative decentralization districts. Figure 4-1 also shows the relationship between the models and the type of control. The models at the top of Figure 4-1, (decentralization) have greater representative control and less direct community control, while the models at the bottom of the figure (independent and decentralization) have a greater potential for direct local participation and control.

The writers emphasize that the lines between the models do not indicate that each model is clearly distinct from the adjacent models. The difference between the models is often a difference of size or definition rather than a clear differentiation.

Beginning at the top of Figure 4-1 and proceeding clockwise each model will be identified. The first proposed model, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter V, is the State Regional Educational Service Agency (RESA) model. Since all state models for administering schools would tend toward representative control, the two state models are placed at the top of the circle. Continuing around the circle the next model is the Metropolitan Educational Service Agency (MESA) which is an alternative model discussed in Chapter V. The Coordinated Community Resources Corporation (CCRC) model is also an alternative to existing models and is also discussed in Chapter V.

The Instructional Services Decentralization model was in use at this writing and will be discussed in a following section of this chapter. The Regional Decentralization model is also discussed in this chapter and is being considered by many urban school districts. The Feeder School Decentralization and Community Control models had been proposed but had not been adopted when the research for this project was completed.

The very small rural, elementary, and secondary school districts are shown at the lower left portion of the circle. They were placed near the direct control point because of the opportunity for direct communication and the lack of bureaucratic complexity. In the upper left portion of the circle appear three models characterized by much administrative centralization. These are the Unified City or County, Unified City and County (metropolitan), and the State I models.

The existing models of urban school organization and administration include the Unified City or County, Unified City and County, State I, Instructional Service Decentralization, and Regional Decentralization. Two of the experimental types of decentralization often referred to in the literature are feeder schools (i.e., educational park) and the Community Control model. There are additional alternatives based on the bureaucratic organizational pattern. Three of these patterns have functional differentiation of centralization and decentralization. That is, certain functions by virtue of their nature can be operated more effectively at a certain level of the organization, therefore, they are placed at that level. These include the State RESA, the Metropolitan Educational Service Agency, and the Coordinated Community Resources Corporation.

Location, Size, and Organization of Urban School Districts

According to the data available when this study was initiated, there were eighty-two school systems in the United States which enrolled 50,000 or more pupils and which were part of a standard statistical metropolitan area. All eighty-two systems were surveyed and data were received from all of them. The survey instrument is shown in Appendix D. These school systems were categorized as to region and enrollment. The results of this categorization are seen in Table 4-1. Forty-five percent (37) of the large school systems in the nation were located in the South, rather than in the Northeast and Far West where major population centers are found. The large number of large school systems in the South is accounted for primarily by the type of school district organization used.

TABLE 4-1

Size and Location of Urban School Systems

Enrollment	East	South	Midwest	West	Total
50,000- 75,000	2	21	10	10	43
75,000-100,000	3	5	2	5	15
100,000-200,000	1	9	5	2	17
200,000 and up	2	2	2	1	7
Total Pupil Enrollment	8	37	19	18	82

Each school system was asked to describe its organization from among seven models. Three of these models were centralization models and four were decentralization models. Although the survey form listed seven possible organizational patterns, only five were selected by the urban school systems as their pattern of organization and administration.

A possible confusion was introduced in preparing the instrument for this survey. In the preparation of the descriptions of models the model labeled as METRO should have carried another name (see Appendix D). The description given for METRO was not consistent with the term as commonly used in the field of public administration even though it is used in verbal communication to describe the metropolitan pattern of organization. The aim of the research staff was to see how many large city districts had been consolidated with suburban areas into a "metropolitan" school district such as the Metropolitan Public Schools Nashville—Davidson County, Tennessee. Consequently, in reading Table 4-2 the only difference in the "Unified" and "METRO" type districts is in the size. Those who answered METRO probably considered their districts larger than the unified district description indicated.

Table 4-2 indicates that most of the regions have all four of the major patterns of organization. It also indicates that most of the school systems were organized under the unified patterns of centralization. If the unified and metropolitan district columns of Table 4-2 were consolidated, they would account for about three-fourths of the districts.

The data in Table 4-2 indicate a definite trend toward decentralization. Nineteen of the districts had decentralized. Another twenty-nine of the 82 districts were planning for decentralization. Table 4-3 shows the organizational pattern of large urban school systems by pupil enrollment.

Of major significance is the fact that the smaller the system, the greater the tendency to be centralized, and the larger the system the greater the tendency to be decentralized. Forty of the forty-three school systems with between fifty and seventy-five thousand pupils (enrollment) were centralized. Six of the seven school systems in the United States with 200,000 or more pupils had regional decentralization.

TABLE 4-2

Organizational Pattern of Urban Systems by Region

	East	South	Midwest	West	Total
Unified	5	18	12	13	48
Metropolitan	0	10	2	2	14
State	0	0	0	1	1
Decentralized Service	0	2	2	0	4
Decentralized Region	3	7	3	2	15
Total	8	37	19	18	82
Planning Decentralization	4	11	6	8	29

TABLE 4-3

Organizational Pattern of Urban School Systems by Pupil Enrollment

	50,000-75,000	75,000-100,000	100,000-200,000	200,000	Total
Unified	31	6	10	1	48
Metropolitan	9	4	1	0	14
State	0	0	1	0	1
Decentralized Service	0	2	2	0	4
Decentralized Region	3	3	3	6	15
Total	43	15	17	7	82
Planning Decentralization	9	8	9	3	29

Administrative Centralization Models

The rationale for the four centralization models is based on the following assumptions: (1) They will produce an efficiency of size for the larger district, that is, a consolidation of services and the accompanying economy of scale of operation. (2) They will produce a better equalization of the tax base. (3) They will produce greater equalization of educational opportunity. (4) They will be able to offer more educational programs in the larger district as they have sufficient pupils to warrant the specialized high cost educational opportunities. (5) They will more effectively recognize the metropolitan area as the logical area for organization, as it is not bound by the lines of city government. In some of the models it may cross state lines. (6) They will provide more effective leadership in the expanding of educational facilities and the planning of educational development.

Unified Models

Unified school districts are of two basic types. The term "unified district" as used in this report means geographical unification. In some studies the term "unified district" means that the district provides both elementary and secondary education. The city or county school district represents one commonly used organizational arrangement. The Unified City and County (metropolitan) is frequently found among the large school districts of the nation. Many urban school districts in the South are county unit districts and encompass urban and rural areas. Both types of unified districts have similar organizational arrangements. In this section, the larger unified district will be discussed and will include city, suburbs, and adjacent rural areas.

Much has been written about metropolitan government, especially in the area of political science. One concept is to produce a new relationship among various independent governmental agencies for the consolidation of certain services and for economy of operation.

Many of the large city school systems of the nation are surrounded by numerous suburban school districts. Some of them have districts within their boundaries. The financial ability of these districts varies considerably. For example, one may possibly find districts serving the same metropolitan area that have a variation of ten to twenty times in per pupil assessed valuation. In the unified city-county or "metropolitan" model, the existing school districts within a metropolitan area are organically combined into one school system.

Organizational Chart and Brief Description.—The organization of the unified city-county model is typical of the large school systems within the nation. These districts are organized along bureaucratic lines. Figure 4-2 provides a simplified, illustrative chart for this organization. A detailed chart for any one of these systems would, of course, present a much greater detailed picture.

The Board of Education, elected by the citizens of the metropolitan area,and serving a rotating term, select the superintendent of schools, who is responsible for the operation and administration of the school system. Assistant superintendents are responsible for the functions assigned to them. Principals may be responsible directly to the superintendent or through the Assistant Superintendents for Administration or Instruction. All assistant superintendents have advisory and staff relationships with the principals, though they do not have direct line authority.

The unified city-county model is highly centralized, and bureaucratic, with a large central staff. The central office develops a social system of its own. Bureaucratic rules and procedures for control are usually developed at the top. The size of the organization makes it difficult for anyone to develop enough understanding of the total processes to influence it. The high degree of specialization required in the large organization further increases its bureaucratic nature. The Assistant Superintendent for Special Services is responsible for public information, publicity, public affairs, overall program planning and coordination, evaluation and research, data processing center, and other related programs.

The Assistant Superintendent for Business is often responsible for the operation and maintenance of all school plants and facilities, for pupil transportation, the maintaining of equipment for transportation, for the administration and processing of classified (non-certified) personnel, for purchasing, and for all records related and for all record processing.

The Assistant Superintendent for Personnel is usually responsible for the processing, recruiting and record keeping for all elementary and secondary teacher personnel, for in-service education for certified personnel, for paraprofessional personnel, and for maintaining records and rosters for substitutes and part-time professional personnel.

The Assistant Superintendent for Instruction is commonly responsible, with his staff, for the development and

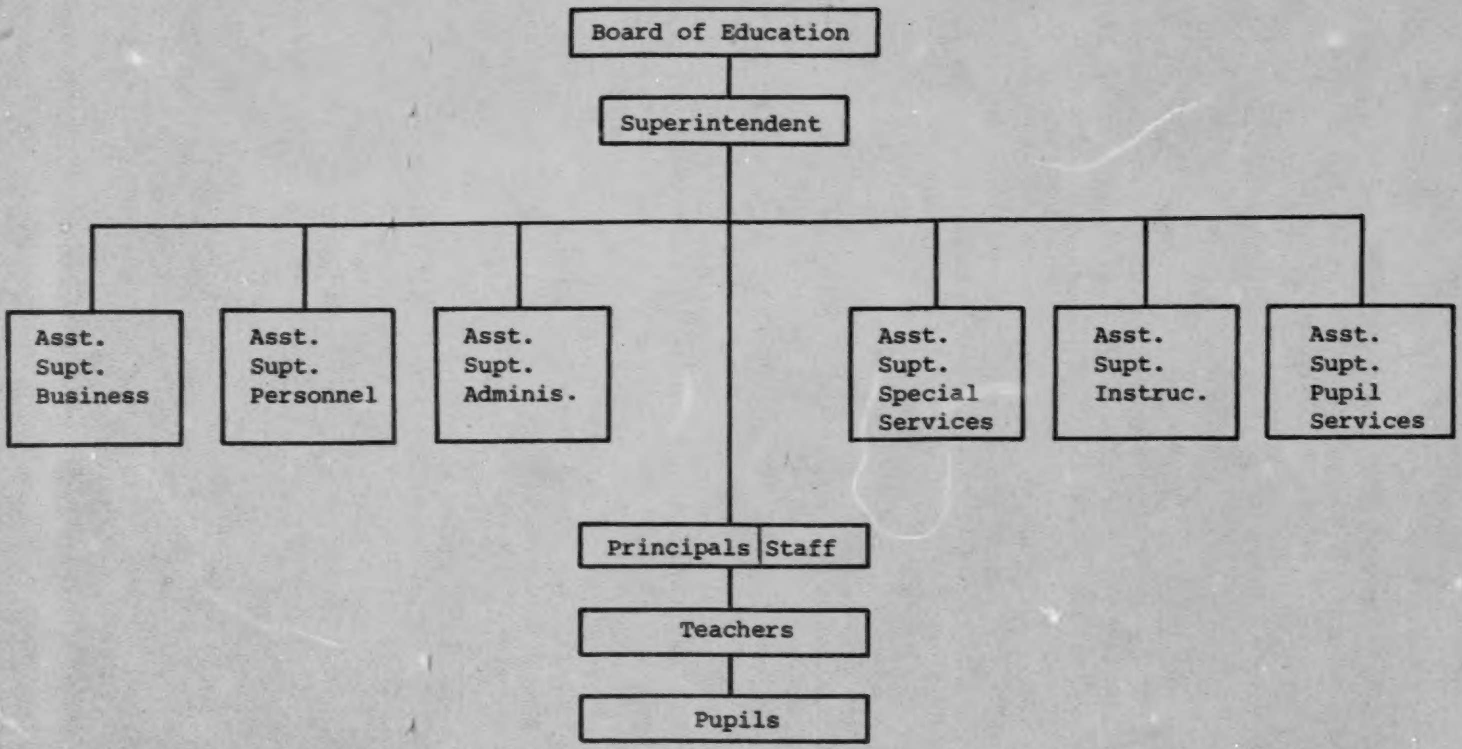

Board of Education
Superintendent
Asst. Supt. Business
Asst. Supt. Personnel
Asst. Supt. Adminis.
Asst. Supt. Special Services
Asst. Supt. Instruc.
Asst. Supt. Pupil Services
Principals
Staff
Teachers
Pupils

Figure 4-2. An example of a unified city-county bureaucratic model.

ongoing operation and evaluation of elementary, secondary, adult, pre-school, and special educational programs, for supervising pupil personnel services programs, and for the child study guidance programs.

Building principals may be responsible directly to the Superintendent or directly through the Assistant Superintendent of Administration or Instruction. They bear the responsibility for the organization and administration of the educational programs conducted within the school center. The principal may have a veto on instructional personnel assigned to his school site, and may be responsible for their participation in in-service training and other educational opportunities offered by the system. He also may have the power to evaluate teachers and recommend them for tenure, promotion or dismissal.

Finance.—In the financial area the unified city-county model offers many distinct advantages. The tax base is spread over the entire metropolitan area which results in better equalization of the tax base, and which should result in the greater equalization of the educational opportunities available to the students of the area. The increase in size of the unified city-county system enables it to provide a wider range of educational services and opportunities, as well as greater depth within these educational opportunities. The central core of the city with a large number of culturally disadvantaged pupils and declining property value is no longer penalized. If the advantages of the model are to be achieved, the school board in the unified city-county model should be fiscally independent, and should not be subject to budget review or override by the local county or city government.

The State I Model

The United States Constitution does not mention education, but the Tenth Amendment reserves to the states, or to the people, all powers not specifically delegated to the Federal Government. The power of each state to provide and maintain a system of public schools is inherent in state sovereignty. This is with the restriction that the exercise of this power does not conflict with other sections of the Federal Constitution, specifically those relating to the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, equal protection under the law (the 14th amendment), the abridgement of contracts, and similar matters.

As teacher associations and organizations have become more militant, some school boards have found themselves in the position of agreeing to contracts which they are not financially able to carry out. The boards then have gone to their state legislatures requesting financial relief. As the tendency for school boards to go to the legislature for financial relief increases, legislators have begun to talk about taking back that which they have delegated, and the impetus for a state system of education increases even faster. The state controlled model would require only a vote of the legislature in most of the states.

Hawaii is the only state in the nation which uses the state model. However, Hawaii has a very small population in comparison with many states. Therefore, the initiation of a state model for populous states would entail much more complexity than exists in Hawaii.

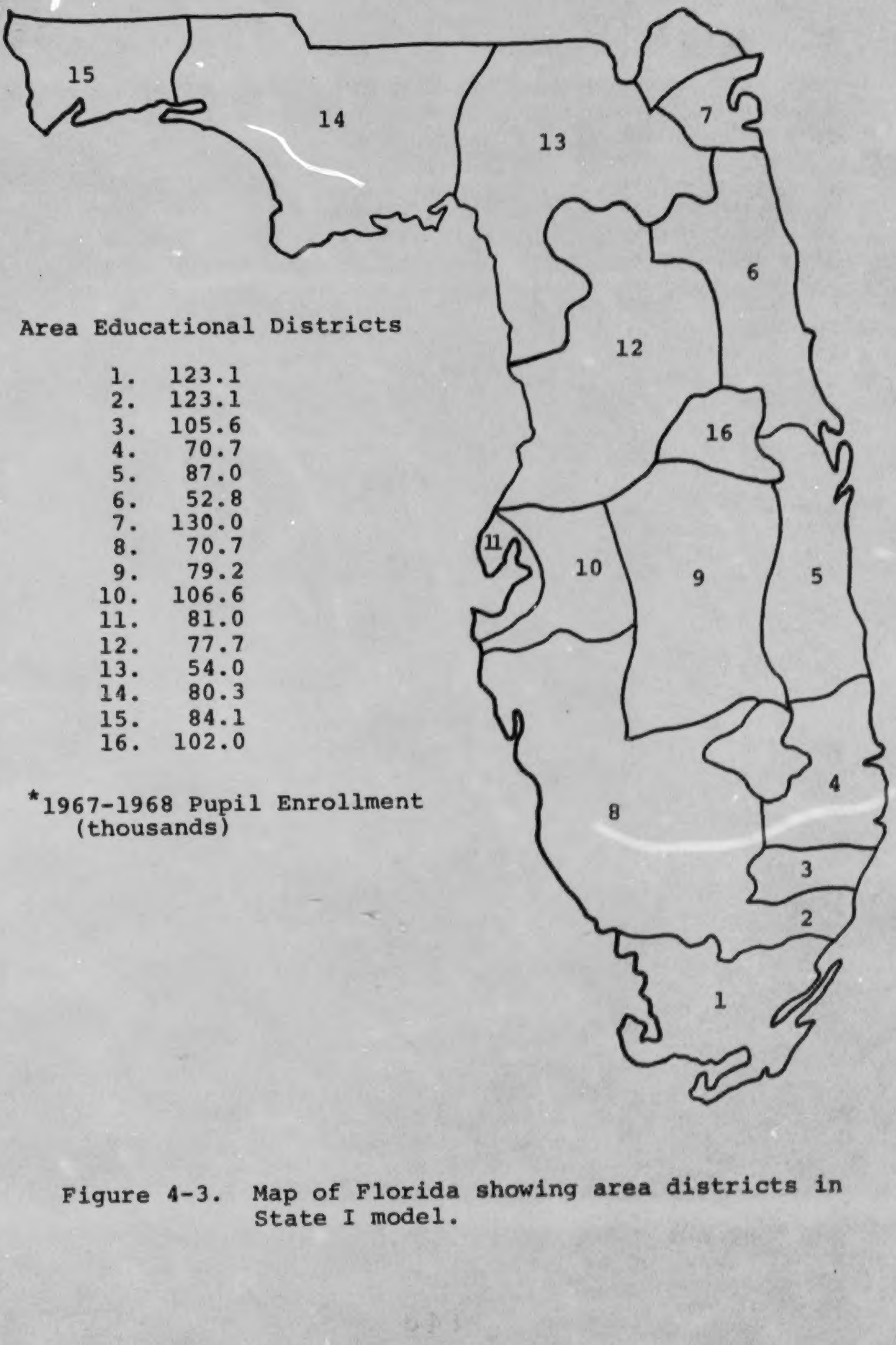
Organizational Chart and Brief Description

For the purpose of describing how this model might be adopted, the State of Florida was chosen as an illustrative example. The figures, statistics, and maps illustrate the implementation of the State I model within Florida. This is not meant to imply that Florida is likely to be the first state to follow Hawaii, but rather Florida was chosen because the data were more readily available to the research staff. An illustrative map for the state organization is shown in Figure 4-3. An illustrative organizational chart is shown in Figure 4-4.

A State Board of Education would be the chief policy setting agency for education, with three sub-boards, each responsible for a specific level of education, and all appointed by the governor. These boards could also be elected. The Board of Regents would be responsible for the university system; and the Public School Board for the public school system, and a Community College Board for the Community Colleges.

The State Commissioner of Education, appointed by the State Board of Education, would be responsible for the planning, developing, implementing and evaluating the state program of education at all levels, and would be the chief educational leader of the state. The Superintendent of Education for the public schools would be appointed by the Public School Board with the recommendation of the Commissioner. The state would be divided into sixteen districts (see map No. 1) which would vary in pupil enrollment from 54,000 to 130,000. These districts would be selected on the basis of pupil population, percentage of growth over the past ten year period, distance from one end of the district to the other, and similar factors.

The area educational district could have an educational board elected by the region served by an appointed superintendent and a staff. The superintendent and staff,


15
14
13
7
6
12
16
11
10
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5
4
8
3
2
1

Area Educational Districts

1.	123.1
2.	123.1
3.	105.6
4.	70.7
5.	87.0
6.	52.8
7.	130.0
8.	70.7
9.	79.2
10.	106.6
11.	81.0
12.	77.7
13.	54.0
14.	80.3
15.	84.1
16.	102.0

*1967-1968 Pupil Enrollment
(thousands)

Figure 4-3. Map of Florida showing area districts in State I model.

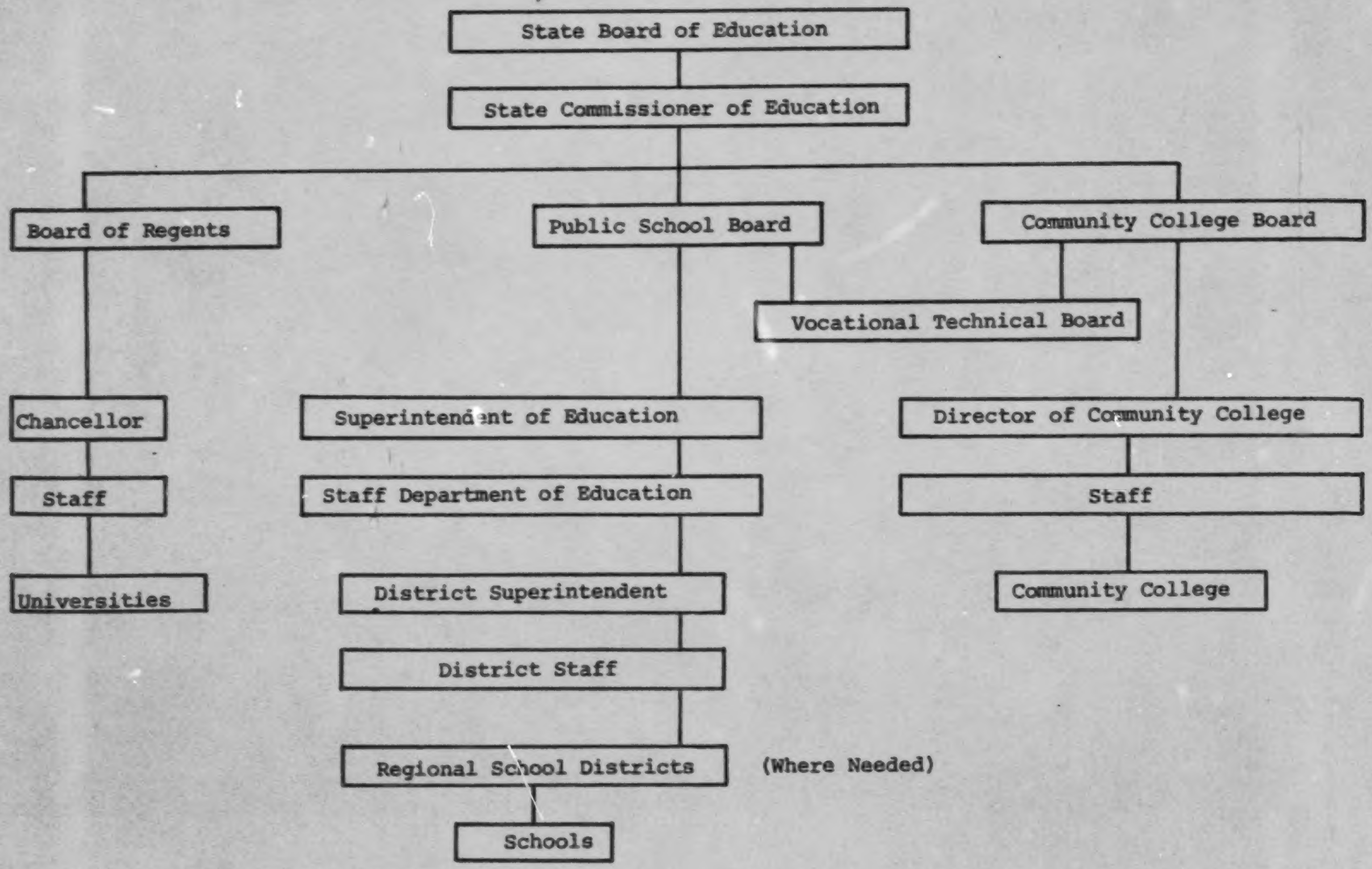

State Board of Education
State Commissioner of Education
Board of Regents
Public School Board
Community College Board
Vocational Technical Board
Chancellor
Staff
Universities
Superintendent of Education
Staff Department of Education
District Superintendent
District Staff
Regional School Districts
(Where Needed)
Schools
Director of Community College
Staff
Community College

Figure 4-4. State I model organizational chart.

including teachers and all employees, could either be appointed by the district boards or they could be appointed by the state agency. Australia is a good example of a state model. In regions with 50,000 - 60,000 pupils the staff could operate the schools directly. Where the area served contains in excess of 60,000 - 75,000 pupils, the area educational board and area superintendent may elect to set-up regions within the area serving 30,000 - 50,000 pupils. These regional superintendents would be appointed by the area educational board upon the recommendation of the area superintendent, and would be under the area educational board. They may have regional advisory boards which would be appointed by the area board and the regional superintendent.

The State Vocational-Technical Board would be composed of nine members. Three members of this board would be appointed by each of the following: State Commissioner of Education, Public School Board, and the State Community College Board. This may enhance the articulation and coordination of vocational-technical education with the total education program of the state.

Financing

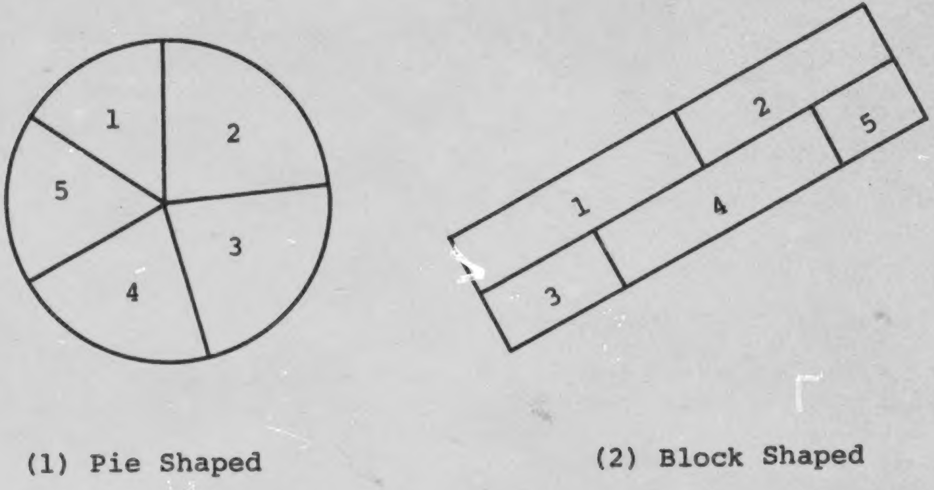
All educational financing would be provided by the state and federal government. Advantages for equalizing the financial support for education are obvious. Opponents to the model feel that it would tend to stifle local initiative and interest in education.

Decentralized Models of Organization

Authorities are not in agreement as to the maximum desirable size of a school system, but their recommendations usually range from 30,000 pupils to 100,000 pupils. Data from the survey of the eighty-two large school systems in the United States indicate that, when enrollment reaches somewhere between 50,000 and 75,000 pupils, the school officials seek means for decentralization.

The administrative decentralization models are based on the following rationale: (1) That the size of the central bureaucracy located at the central office should be reduced. (2) That supervisory and staff personnel are more responsive to needs when they are located in schools and are more available when they are not in the central office. (3) That size itself becomes a factor when a school system enters the 50,000 to 75,000 pupil size. (4) That more effective control and management mechanisms are operable through submanagers being given some measures of autonomy.

(5) That the needs of the local school or area should affect the educational programs of that school or area. (6) That increased communication is possible in an administrative decentralized model. This increased communication will increase the effectiveness of the educational program. At least two options are open for allocating the district to the regions. They are pie shaped and block shaped as indicated in Figure 4-5.



(1) Pie Shaped

(2) Block Shaped

Figure 4-5. Administrative decentralization patterns.

Each region in the pie shaped district extends from the center of the city to the outer limits of the school district, which encompasses an heterogeneous school population and prevents one district of a given city from becoming almost totally composed of culturally deprived students, and another district being composed of middle class students.

In the block pattern natural boundaries are used by the school system to divide the school system into discrete areas separated by these natural boundaries. This may give the regions a more homogeneous population than the pie shaped pattern.

Instructional Service Decentralization Model

The Instructional Service Decentralization model is based on the philosophy that educational resource personnel, staff personnel services, and other special services are more functional when they are removed from the central headquarters and are housed in a local school or regional service center office.

The basic purpose of this model is to bring resource personnel and materials closer in availability to the classroom teacher; to make the staff personnel more responsive to local needs; and to reduce the size of the central staff.

The Instruction Service Decentralization model is as highly centralized in control, administration, and in operation as the unified model. The decentralization is at the regional service centers and in the areas of instruction, pupil services, and other special services.

Organizational chart and brief description of formal organization.—An illustrative organizational chart for the Instructional Service Decentralization model is shown in Figure 4-6. The model has a board of education and superintendent in a similar pattern with the unified school systems. The basic difference is that the large number of supervisors, coordinators, and resource personnel in the divisions of instruction, pupil personnel services, and special services are no longer located in the central office, and are placed under regional administrators in regional service centers. These service centers may be located within one of the local schools in the region or in a separate facility centrally located in the region. They provide instructional and other services to the principals, faculty and pupils of the region by the regional center.

In the Instructional Service Decentralization model, the central office staff members, in areas of curriculum, pupil services and special services, coordinate and serve the regional service centers. The central office divisions of administration, personnel, and business remain centralized and function in a similar pattern to other large urban school system staff divisions.

Financing.—The instructional service decentralization district is financed using the same procedures as the unified models. Greater latitude is given in use of instructional funds to the decentralized service centers.

Regional Decentralization Model

Advocates of the regional decentralization plan seek to break up the bureaucratic effect of the central administrative office. The regional model is designed to provide a

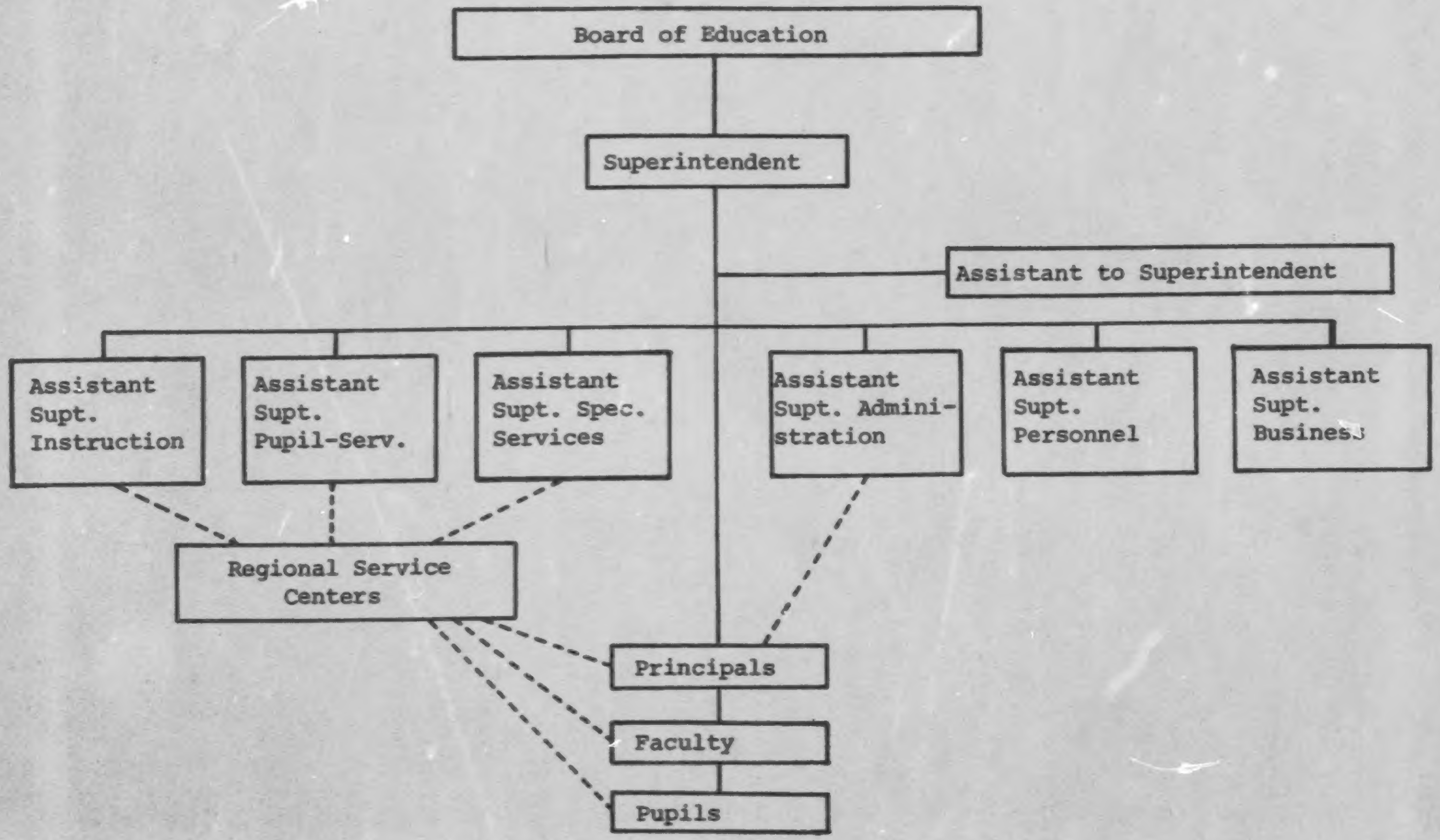

Board of Education
Superintendent
Assistant to Superintendent
Assistant Supt. Instruction
Assistant Supt. Pupil-Serv.
Assistant Supt. Spec. Services
Assistant Supt. Admini-stration
Assistant Supt. Personnel
Assistant Supt. Business
Regional Service Centers
Principals
Faculty
Pupils

Figure 4-6. Instructional services decentralization model.

means for effective response to the needs of a local community and local school and to prevent teachers and administrators from becoming lost within the mass of the large organization. An illustrative organizational chart is shown in Figure 4-7.

Three to eight regional districts may be set up with an assistant, or regional, superintendent in charge of each of the districts. The geographic areas served need to be as large as possible, not only for the educational program, but in order to prevent court action. The two most common methods are block and pie shaped (see Figure 4-5). Each region in the pie shaped district extends from the center of the city to the outer limits of the school district, which helps produce a heterogeneous school population. This plan normally prevents a district of a given city from becoming almost totally composed of white or black students. In the block pattern natural boundaries are used by the school system to divide the school system into discrete areas separated by these natural boundaries. This usually produces a more homogeneous student population in each region.

Organizational chart and brief description of the formal organization.—Within the regional decentralization plan the school system board of education has ultimate control and sets the basic policies and procedures for the school district, including appointment of the superintendent (see Figure 4-7). The superintendent has a staff that works directly with him in the planning of the city-wide educational programs and furnishing system-wide services to the regional districts. Directly under the school superintendent are a series of district or regional superintendents. These superintendents have the administrative authority for their region. They may make the final decision on personnel and educational program within the guidelines established by the central board. Each regional superintendent has a staff which usually corresponds to the areas of the central office staff. These staff members would have close communication at all times, not only with the district superintendent and the schools being served, but with a corresponding representative of the central office staff. Within each district are a series of high schools and their feeder school systems.

A major difficulty in regional decentralization is in the selection of decisions to be decentralized to the district and to the school level. If the model is to function effectively, district superintendents need considerable freedom to modify, add, and drop educational programs and services in order to meet the specific needs of their region. They need to have considerable choice, along with the principals, in personnel and administrative decisions. Unions and educational associations have tended to object to decentralized models, especially where the regional superintendents have an elected board or appointed board serving with them. They fear the disruption of their centralized negotiating or bargaining process.

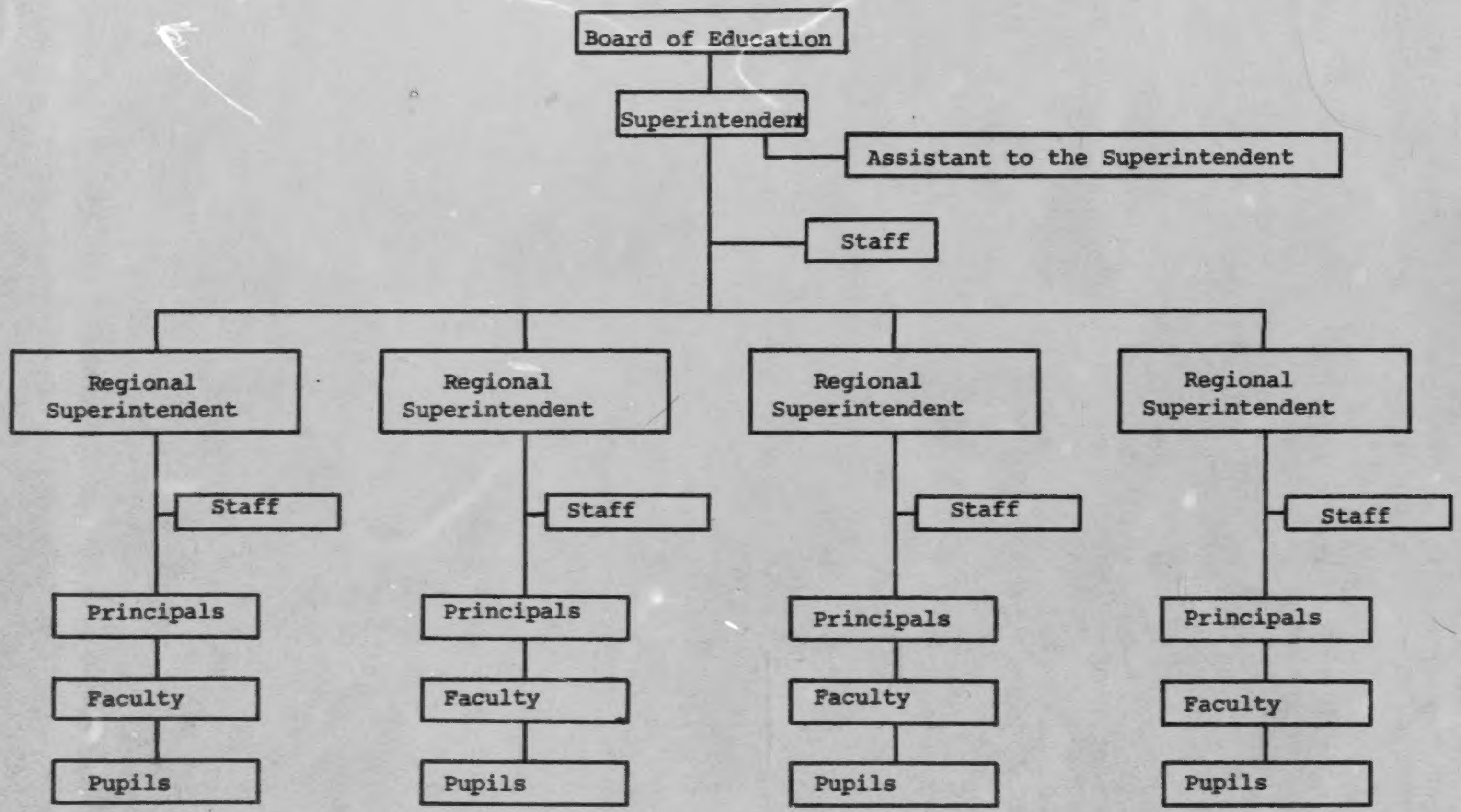

Board of Education
Superintendent
Assistant to the Superintendent
Staff
Regional Superintendent
Regional Superintendent
Regional Superintendent
Regional Superintendent
Staff
Staff
Staff
Staff
Principals
Principals
Principals
Principals
Faculty
Faculty
Faculty
Faculty
Pupils
Pupils
Pupils
Pupils

Figure 4-7. Organizational chart for regional decentralization model.

Another crucial decision in regional decentralization is whether the operating school district should have its own boards, and, if so, whether the board would be policy setting or advisory. Policy setting boards on the district level can be expected to add an additional area of conflict; and advisory boards may create greater conflict when their advice is not sought or followed. The district superintendents will need, whether they have boards or not, to find a means of communication with the geographic community being served by their schools.

An additional advantage of regional decentralization is that the central office can furnish basic educational programs and services that can be done more effectively on a central basis. For example, vocational-technical, adult, media and materials processing, building, maintenance, construction, and central purchasing could be done by the central office.

Financing.—All local, state and federal funds would be handled by the central administration. Financial affairs under regional decentralization would be centralized as in the unified models.

Community Control and Feeder School Decentralization Models

Within recent years several proposals have appeared in the literature for decentralizing the bureaucracy of large urban school districts. Two of these proposed models for decentralization are discussed in this section of the report.

Feeder School Decentralization Model

The Feeder School Decentralization model is based on the assumption that the logical subsystem within a school system is that of the high school and its feeder elementary and middle or junior high schools. Since the high school and the feeder schools serve a specific geographic population, they have particular needs in common, and these educational needs can best be met by decentralizing on the basis of the high school and its feeder system.

This model may facilitate K-12 articulation within the feeder system and yet does allow for considerable latitude in curriculum and educational programs. *It has a weakness in system-wide articulation and coordination* in the large urban school settings where the number of high schools would exceed eight to ten. The operating units would be too numerous for close coordination and articulation. Several urban school systems have suggested the possibility of going to large comprehensive high schools of perhaps from 3,000 to 5,000 pupils, and decentralizing on the basis of this. This would mean that a system with 100,000 pupils could go to about six large comprehensive high schools and decentralize on the basis of these high schools and their feeder systems.

One of the most significant adaptations of feeder school decentralization is the educational park where, on a given site the high school, feeder junior high or middle schools, and the feeder elementary schools are located. Each of the schools is an individual unit with its administrator. The schools in an educational park on a common site, share many facilities in common and are thereby able to offer the possibility of reduced financial costs. Some writers feel this arrangement would provide a better educational program at less cost per pupil being served.

Organizational chart and brief description of formal organization.—A simplified organizational chart is shown in Figure 4-8. Feeder school decentralization models would have a board of education and superintendent with a staff to serve the school system. This central office staff would be predominantly concerned with planning, coordinating, and evaluating the educational programs within the system. At the next level of the organizational chart would be the high school administrator who would be the equivalent of a regional school superintendent. He would have a curriculum and instructional staff, as well as administrative and organizational staff people. Under him would be the administrators and instructional leaders of the feeder school system.

The organizational chart shown in Figure 4-8 could be used whether the feeder schools were located on the same site or whether they were scattered throughout the geographic region from which the pupils were drawn. The instruction and services specialists would be located in the high school where they might also serve as department or division chairmen, but where they would work in improving K-12 articulation throughout the system. The weakness of system-wide coordination presents some severe problems, but these can be reduced if the central office staff functions effectively within their roles.

The central superintendent, staff, and board would set the system-wide policies and procedures, and provide services and resources. The high school administrator would be given considerable authority and autonomy to develop a program that meets the system-wide standards, and yet accomodates the specific school population in the community being served. Each school would have authority and autonomy to make modifications within the system and feeder system policies to meet the needs of their pupils. The principal's assignment would basically be in the fields of community relations, curriculum coordination, guidance, improvement

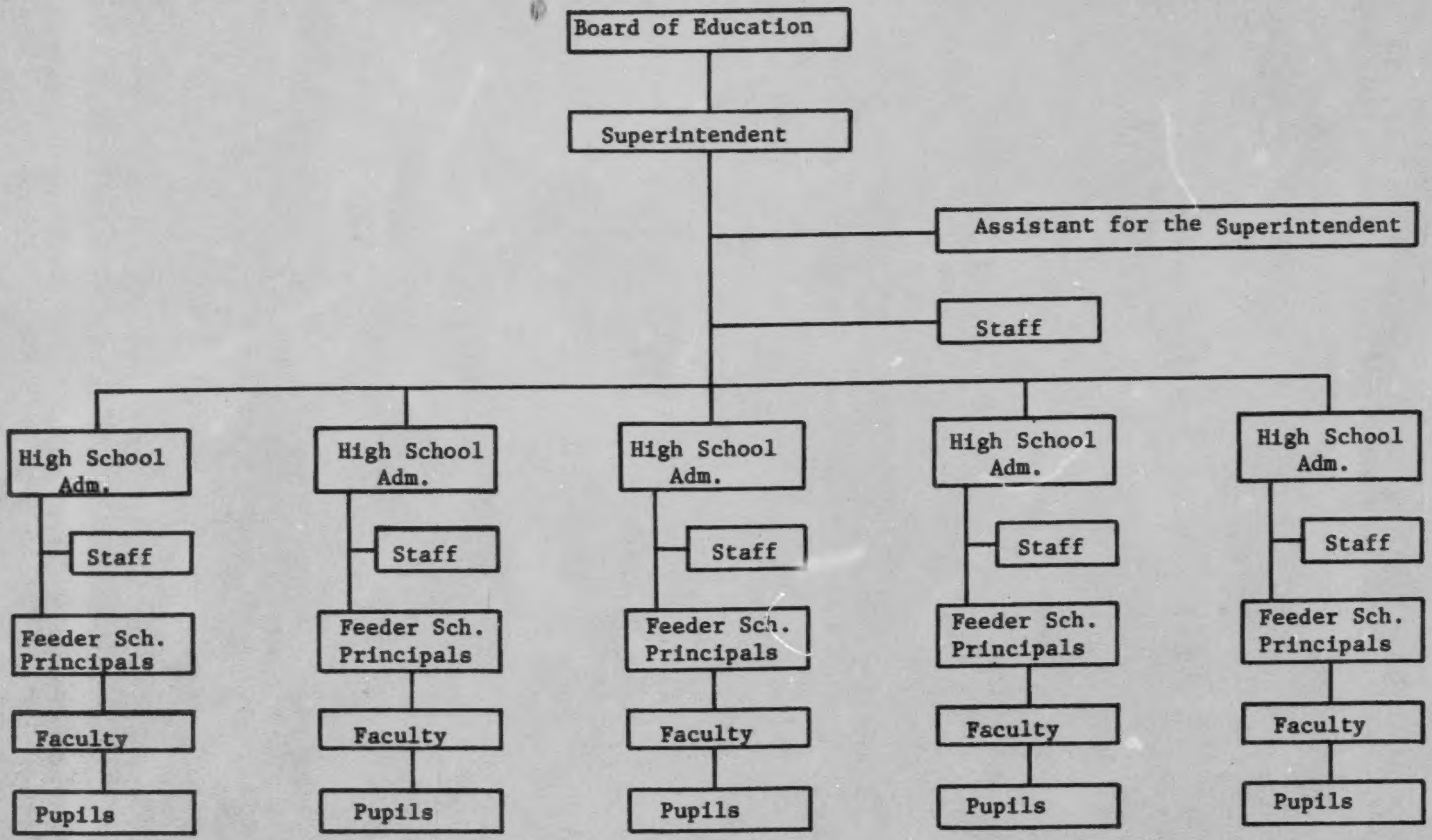

Board of Education
Superintendent
Assistant for the Superintendent
Staff
High School Adm.
Staff
Feeder Sch. Principals
Faculty
Pupils
High School Adm.
Staff
Feeder Sch. Principals
Faculty
Pupils
High School Adm.
Staff
Feeder Sch. Principals
Faculty
Pupils
High School Adm.
Staff
Feeder Sch. Principals
Faculty
Pupils
High School Adm.
Staff
Feeder Sch. Principals
Faculty
Pupils

Figure 4-8. Organization chart for feeder school decentralization model.

of instruction, and in administration of the unit. The central park staff would provide record keeping, food service, educational media and materials center, and perhaps physical education facilities and equipment. They could coordinate with the given schools for part of the educational program which might take place outside of the educational park.

Financing.—All revenue from local, state and federal sources would be received and expended by the central administration. Special appropriations for specific educational needs and purposes would vary for each feeder district.

Community Control Model

Though education is constitutionally a state function, educators throughout the years have stated that the process of education and the organization of education is directly responsible to the community at large. In almost every organizational chart of the school system the public is shown at the top of the chart. In most school systems in the United States the public elects the members of the school board and in a few communities they still elect the school superintendent. The advocates of community control start with this rationale, and state that, due to the size and complexity of the educational organization, decentralization is not a satisfactory answer. Decentralization is basically different from community control in that decentralization is simply an administrative technique for the shifting of responsibility and authority. Also, in decentralization the authority and responsibility remain with the educational professionals. The community control advocate sees the necessity to use a different technique and to distribute central authority and responsibility to a local authority. This requires a small enough district to allow the citizens of the local area to influence the educational decisions.

For many years the middle and upper social classes have had much influence on education. The poor and other minority groups in urban areas are demanding greater representation in decision-making. Militants in the urban areas have heard of participation and involvement for years and they feel that this participation and involvement has been meaningless. One of these militants stated: "We are tired of participating while you run the show. We want control and we want to do the running." They desire community school boards elected by the local community served by the individual school. These boards would have absolute control. Some school community advocates are not willing to allow the city or state to set-up a basic set of policies as guidelines which the community board would have to follow.

Community control, according to some authors, is slowly approaching the position of being no longer a concept or a demand but a matter of principle in the minds of its advocates. This is especially true in the black community. They see the idea of community control of schools as beginning that which would develop into a community control of the economic order. Basically, they are talking about redistribution of economic and political power.

Community control advocates have presented the following reasons for community control: (1) Black children are vistims of a white school system, white teachers and white administrators; the schools are designed to produce good white Anglo-Saxon Protestant graduates, and this does not meet the special needs of the blacks (to develop their specific identity, to develop a sense of pride in themselves and in their ethnic backgrounds). (2) The local level is better able to define the educational, social and cultural needs of students than the city or state level. (3) Integration and freedom of choice have not worked and, in fact, have lessened the educational opportunities for the blacks; therefore, they should be given the opportunity to try another method of producing equal educational opportunity. (4) The size of the urban school systems makesthem unresponsive to white parent groups, but even more unresponsive to the black and other minority groups. (5) Compensatory education is inadequate and offers more of the same—community control provides the opportunity to develop innovative programs to see if the educational attainment can be increased. (6) Since education is the visible focus of discrimination, and the visible focus of white power and teacher power within the community, community control will give a community identity. (7) Participation in and of itself is good and helps to develop the adults as individuals. It could develop a power base and enable the community to have greater political and economic power. Community control will help participants develop expertise which they can use in other areas of their social and political life. (8) Education is the concern of the community, and there are no experts in values. Community leaders have as much expertise in determining what is valuable as any professional and they desire to build a community control school system so that their opinions can be implemented. (9) Community control advocates state that decentralization does not offer the answer for economic efficiency, but that community control would increase economic efficiency. The big central administrative and bureaucratic apparatuses of the large urban school systems would be eliminated and the professionals would be put to work primarily in the classroom where they are most valuable.

Organizational chart and brief description of the formal organization.—The urban school system could be divided into small geographic units which would be as homogeneous as possible and which would seldom exceed eight to ten thousand pupils. This may be done by the city board of education which would maintain legal responsibility for the educational program of the city. The city board would function through an appointive superintendent.

Once the geographic area to be served by the local system is determined, an election would be held within the area to elect members of the local board. Some community control advocates would allow for a less formal participation than is currently the practice in most school board elections in that they would allow parents as well as registered voters to participate in the selection of the local board members. The local board would then appoint a school superintendent who would be responsible for administering the educational program of the local school system.

The local board of education and the local superintendent would be under constraints of the legal requirements of the state educational program and of the policy requirements of the city board of education. Some advocates of community control would also include an advisory board at the school level to assist the principal in preparing and planning the specific educational program at the school center. The local board would make its own budget within the limits of funds available from federal, state and local sources.

On the superintendent's staff there could be the normal basic areas of service: administration, instructional personnel, pupil personnel, business and special services. Some of these functions could be combined. That is, administration and business, pupil and professional personnel, staff services, and special services could be combined into single divisions. This combination is made necessary due to the small size of the district and lacks resources to support as many separate personnel as the large district.

The significant organizational difference is that the system would be small enough so that members of the board and the parents would be able to know what was taking place in the school and be able to make comments, criticisms, and suggestions.

Financing.—The community control districts would be provided funds for operation of their schools from federal, state and city board of education. These funds could be allocated on a per pupil per program basis or a local foundation program.

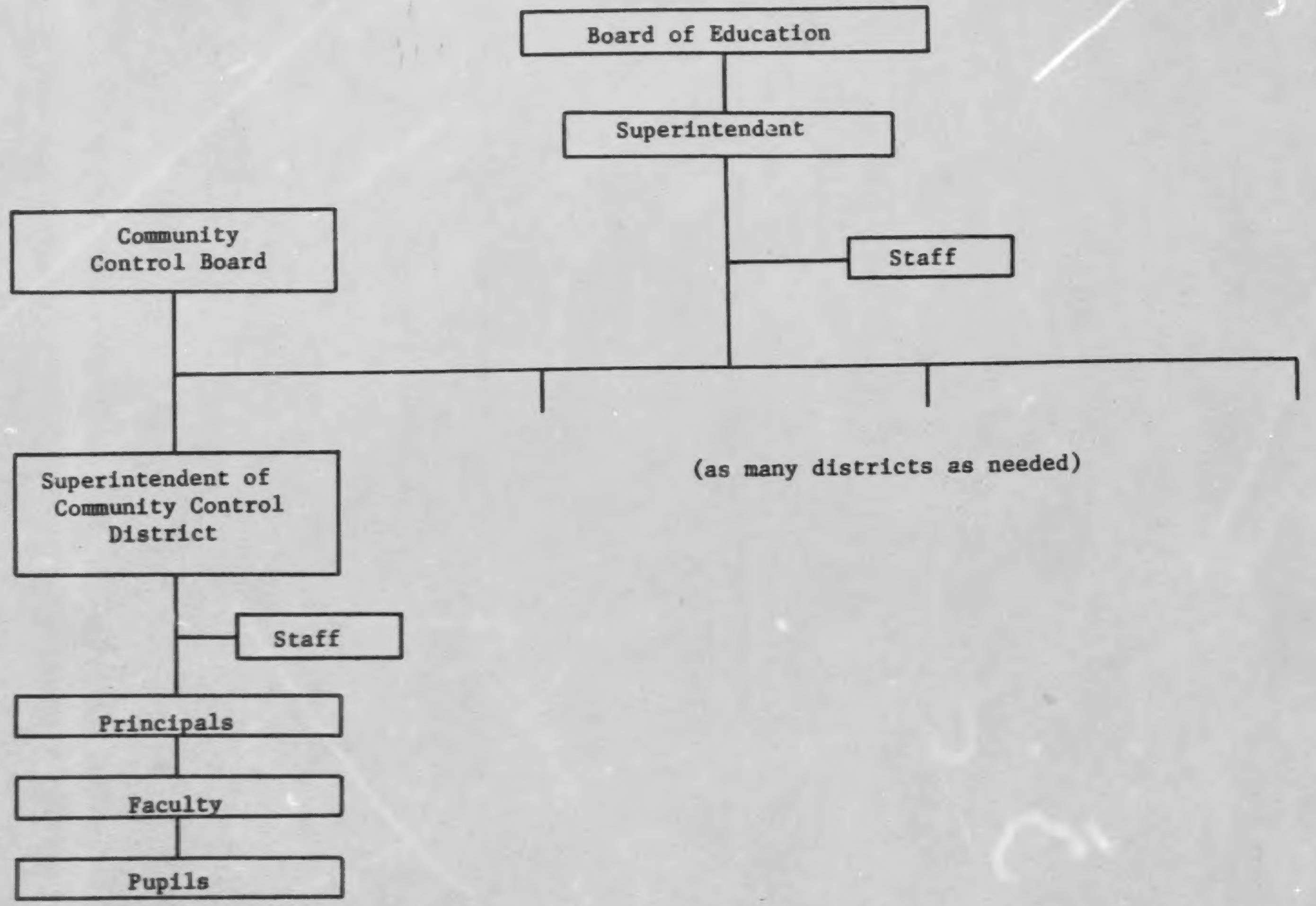

Board of Education
Superintendent
Staff
Community Control Board
Superintendent of Community Control District
Staff
Principals
Faculty
Pupils
(as many districts as needed)

Figure 4-9. Organization chart for community control model.

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CHAPTER V

ALTERNATIVE MODELS FOR LARGE SCHOOL SYSTEM ORGANIZATION

The purpose of this chapter is to present certain alternative organizational models for school districts. Few, if any, of these models have been adopted for urban school districts although some of them have been proposed to school systems by other groups and are being seriously considered. The writers reiterate that these are the models that were thought to be the most interesting or, in some cases, most feasible as the case may be, by those 562 persons who participated in the conceptual testing process.

The background studies for this project, which were briefly reviewed in Chapters II and III, indicated a need to experiment with alternatives to traditional organizational structures. The alternative structures should offer greater flexibility and greater opportunity for participation in decision-making. They should facilitate communication and encourage productive climates for pupil growth. Those seeking alternatives might also use the rationale underlying functional operations models.

Functional operations models (see Figure 4-1, Chapter IV) have been proposed, but have never been implemented for urban school organization. The basic rationale is as follows: (1) Certain operations, due to financial efficiency and effectiveness needs, can be better accomplished at a central level; (2) Certain operations, due to the needs for community relevancy and pupil differences, can be better accomplished at a local level; (3) Uniformity is not a prime essential in educational programs providing certain basic educational objectives are achieved; (4) The functional differentiation must be spelled out in law and policy to prevent administrators from acting capriciously at the central levels, and at the local levels. Coordination among all operating units is desirable due to the fact of high mobility of student and adult populations.

The pluralistic models which are discussed in this chapter are very different from the typical bureaucratic concept for school district organization. Many theorists have advocated some form of collegial (or pluralistic) organization to reduce or eliminate the bureaucratization of large complex organizations. The writers included discussions of two models to illustrate the application of these theoretical concepts to school district organization.

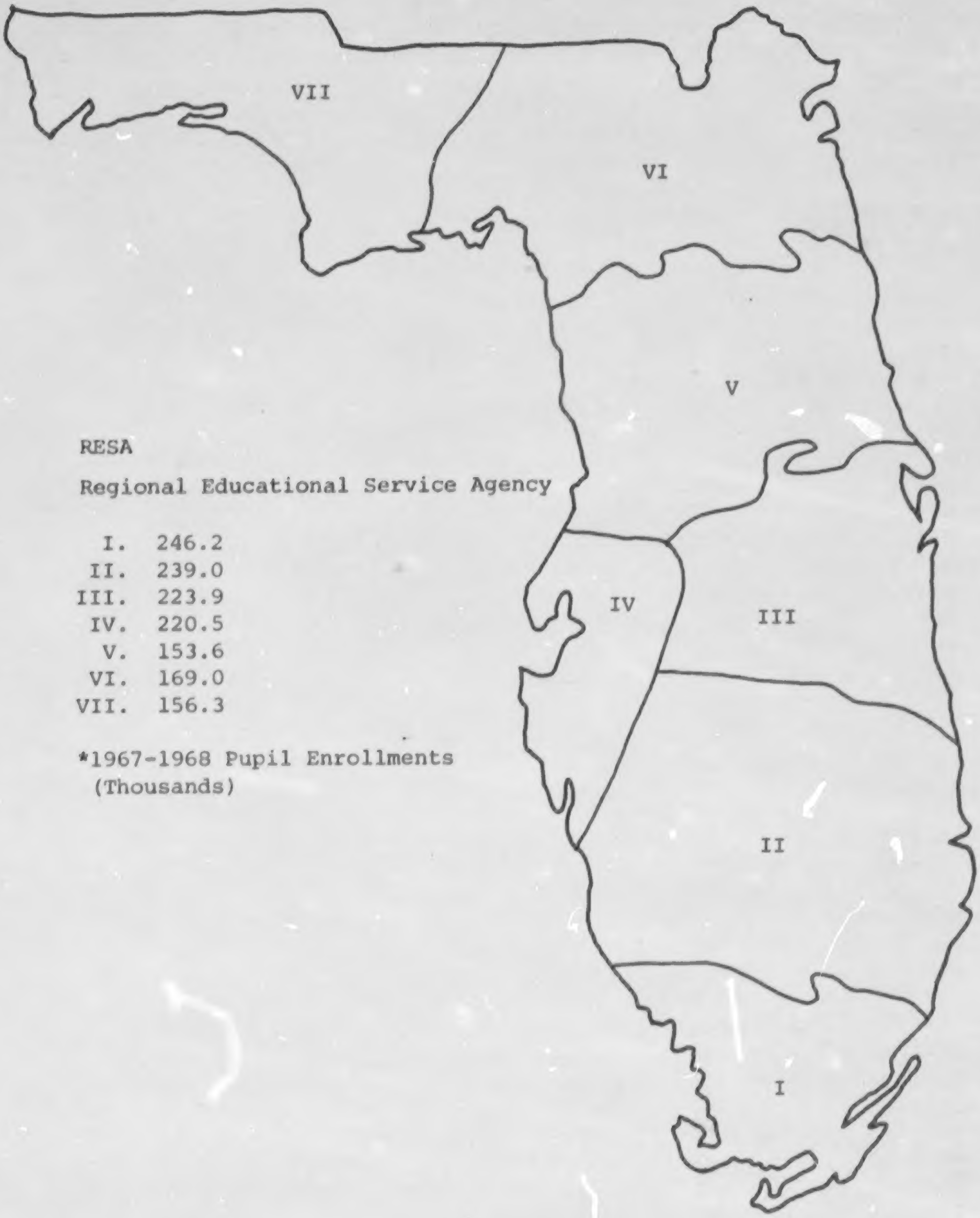
Each of the alternative models considered and believed to be of interest to those participating in the conceptual testing process are briefly discussed in the following sections. Again, the project staff reiterates that none of these alternative models is proposed for any one district. They are not to be viewed as a supermarket. Rather they offer to the users of these materials some ideas for different directions in urban school district organization.

State RESA Model

The State Regional Educational Service Agency (RESA) model for state control of education provides for larger regions and smaller operating districts than the State I model discussed in Chapter IV. The State RESA also provides for federal, state, and local financing. An illustrative organizational chart for State RESA (see Figure 5-1) shows the State Board of Education appointed by the Governor with an appointed Commissioner of Education. Serving under him would be three boards appointed by the Governor (State Community College Board, State Public School Board, State Board of Regents). For the purposes of this study, the State Community College Board and the State Board of Regents will not be emphasized in this discussion. The State Public School Board would select a State Superintendent of Education who would be responsible for the operation of the State Department of Education.

The State Vocational-Technical Board is composed of nine members. Three members of this board are appointed by each of the following: State Commissioner of Education, Public School Board and State Community College Board. This will enhance the articulation and coordination of vocational-technical education with the total education program of the state.

The State of Florida is used as an example to describe how the state organizations might be implemented. Please refer to the map in Figure 5-2. All of the local school districts would be abolished. The state would be divided into seven regional areas. Each region would have a regional educational service agency (RESA) operated by personnel appointed by the RESA Board and superintendent. These regional educational service agencies will service pupil populations (1968 figures ranging from 153.6 thousand to 246.2 thousand pupil enrollments). New operating districts would be organized under the RESA agency. Under the regional



RESA

Regional Educational Service Agency

I.	246.2
II.	239.0
III.	223.9
IV.	220.5
V.	153.6
VI.	169.0
VII.	156.3

*1967-1968 Pupil Enrollments
(Thousands)

Figure 5-1. Application of state RESA to Florida.

educational service agency would be found the operating school districts of from 40,000 - 75,000 pupils per district. This would mean that region 7 would have three operating school districts, whereas region I would have four or five operating districts. Each RESA would be responsible for determining the number of operating districts and for appointing the boards.

The boards for RESA may be elected from the geographic area served, or they may be appointed by the Public School Board at the recommendation of the Superintendent of Education. A third alternative method of board selection would be to elect boards for the operating districts and have them elect members to the RESA board. The choice of RESA board selection procedure would have a significant impact on their orientation.

Some of the functions of the RESA unit would be to provide central educational policy and standards for the area, supervision of the state financial aid and its utilization, curriculum and staff specialists to assist the district, and, in the event all the financing was not provided by the State, the RESA unit would be the taxation unit for the areas.

In addition, RESA could provide financial record keeping, central purchasing, transportation, vocational-technical education, personnel recruitment, research, data processing (and other computer services), testing, evaluation, educational television, media center and guidelines and assistance for school construction. Other functions could be determined by mutual agreement. These services would be on a contractual basis to the school districts for the specific services rendered. This would mean that operating school districts could decide to perform many of the services themselves and contract other services to the central RESA unit.

The operating school district consisting of 30,000 - 75,000 pupil enrollment could have an appointed school superintendent. Local district policy-making boards would be eliminated and would be replaced with seven boards for the RESA areas which would be elected from the area being served. They would appoint advisory boards for the operating districts. The district superintendent and advisory board would be expected to plan, operate and evaluate the educational program for the specific district. Each operating district would maintain a full budgetary process for their district including planning, formulating, record of expenditures and evaluation, and would set specific curriculum policy for their district. The operating school districts would select and place the academic and administrative staff. They would have control over the school property within the broad limits of the State and RESA policy and would determine the specific education programs. They would carry on in-service education and would be responsible for the transportation function whether they did it or subcontracted it to RESA.

The organizational chart for the State RESA model is shown in Figure 5-2.

Financing

As education in this state model is seen as a state function, the financing of education would be done on a state-wide basis from the state legislature and from Federal funds. The regional educational service agency boards could have taxing authority to levy taxes in excess of the funds appropriated by the state to meet special quality educational programs within the district, and to provide additional personnel for more educational programs. This should not exceed 10-15 percent of the total state operating budget support.

Metropolitan Education Service Agency (MESA)

The metropolitan concept for large school district organization is based upon the consolidation of independent school districts in a metropolitan area. However, many educators contend that consolidation of school districts into very large school districts increases complexity and results in the ineffectiveness of large bureaucratic organization. What is needed is a model that will provide the economic advantages of consolidation with the educational advantages of decentralization. The MESA model is an attempt to combine the advantages of centralized tax collecting, and centralization of costly educational services with the advantages of greater local participation that takes place in smaller school districts and the advantage of specifically tailoring educational programs to meet the needs of pupils through smaller school districts.

Organizational Chart and Brief Description

The organizational chart in Figure 5-3 shows the MESA Board, along with the MESA Superintendent at the top, the staff to provide the basic MESA programs, and a division of services. The Services division will vary considerably from district to district. Under the MESA organization would be from three to, perhaps, twenty operating school districts, each of which would have a fiscally dependent but educationally independent board with an appointed school

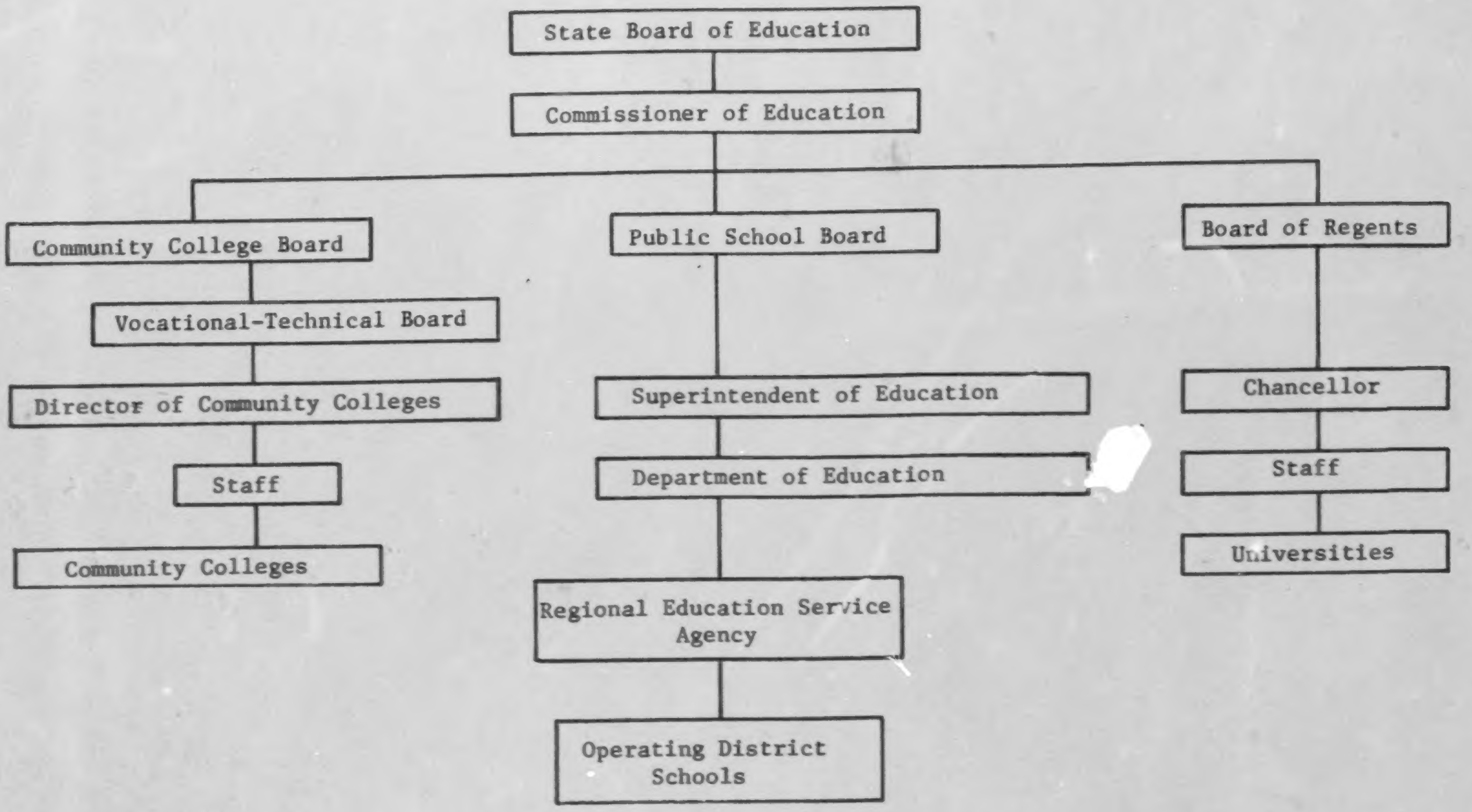

State Board of Education
Commissioner of Education
Community College Board
Public School Board
Board of Regents
Vocational-Technical Board
Director of Community Colleges
Staff
Community Colleges
Superintendent of Education
Department of Education
Regional Education Service Agency
Operating District Schools
Chancellor
Staff
Universities

Figure 5-2. State RESA model organization chart.

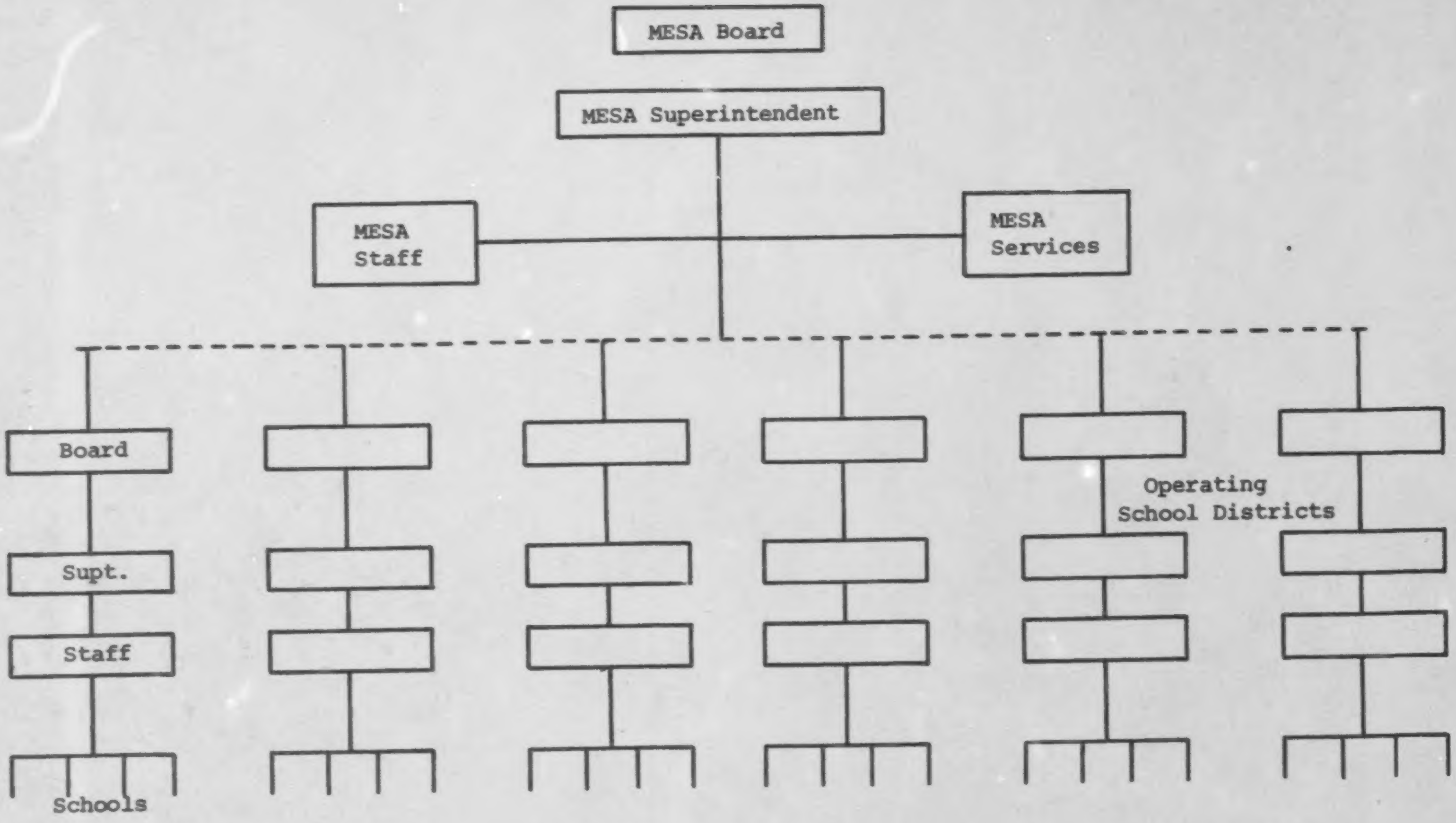

MESA Board
MESA Superintendent
MESA Staff
MESA Services
Board
Supt.
Staff
Schools
Operating School Districts

Figure 5-3. MESA organization chart.

superintendent, a district staff, and schools that function within that specific district.

Each operating school district would be responsible for developing, administering, and evaluating their specific educational programs. The district would develop a program that would meet the specific needs of the community and population served. It would be legally responsible for the educational program. In the interest of efficiency and economy MESA could provide certain services for the districts. These could include: financial record keeping, central purchasing, transportation, vocational and technical education, staff recruitment, research, computer services, testing, evaluation, educational television, media centers, and school plant facility planning and construction. Each operating school district would be able to purchase on a contractual basis these services from MESA. This would mean that the Services Division of MESA may grow considerably. Negotiations and teacher contracts would be handled by MESA or the operating school districts. MESA would also enter into negotiations and contracts with those people employed in the MESA services division. Under MESA it would be expected that the operating school districts would find themselves engaging in more and more activities on a cooperative basis in order to meet their specific needs. MESA could also develop specialized curriculum subject matter programs and coordinate federal programs, although the latter could also be done within operating school districts.

Some educational leaders suggest giving MESA legal control on the location and size of school facilities in order to achieve a more heterogeneous school population and to facilitate equality of educational opportunity.

Financing

MESA would levy, assess and collect the property and other taxes from the metropolitan area. There seems to be no maximum size for this unit, and it perhaps could have a million pupils organized into operating districts. MESA would provide the financial and taxation services for each of the independent districts, and would furnish the money on an educational need or per pupil per program basis in block grants. The districts would then have full authority to develop and operate the educational programs within the developed educational guidelines and policies. These would be the base functions of MESA in addition to serving as a collection and consolidation agency for the State Department of Education for all records from the area served. The operating districts could be allowed to levy local taxes up to 15 percent of the total operating budget funded by the state and MESA.

Though educators have frequently seen finance and control as synonymous, this does not have to be true. Some of the federal and many of the state financial aids to education programs have contained little or no undesirable controls. MESA separates the fiscal support from the operational control.

Coordinated Community Services Corporation Model

The mayor of one of the large cities of our nation, when asked about the number one problem of the educational system of his city, stated that the problem was too many different districts. An then he continued, "Not only are there too many educational districts, there are too many health districts, there are too many social work districts." The rationale for the Coordinated Community Recourses Corporation Model is based on the following ideas:

1. With the rising specialization of education, social work, and other helping professions, communications and articulation are severely handicapped. The development of an organizational model that includes health, educational and welfare services within the same structure, should increase coordination.
2. That there is a relationship between the educational services provided by the school, educational services provided by community agents, and the various service functions provided by other community agencies. There would be advantages to the coordination of these services.

The Coordinated Community Services Corporation is a departure from the present pattern for administering education and other governmental services. It violates the principle long followed by many persons that education is a unique function that should be kept under the direct control of the people. Furthermore, the model creates greater rather than less bureaucracy by combining numerous functions under a central administration.

Organizational Charts and Brief Description

The Coordinated Community Resource Corporation would be an organization composed of all Health, Education and Welfare agencies in the region served. These would include: (1) the school system—including all things that occur to the pupils while they are under school guidance and supervision; (2) the recreation departments; (3) the library and other media resource centers; (4) the welfare departments, which include the social workers, aid to dependent children and the many programs that come under the welfare area; (5) health organizations including both medical and dental; (6) rehabilitation organization along with the personnel who function in educational areas of rehabilitation. These functions are combined into a single organization. The organizational chart for the central administrative structure is represented in the diagram, Figure 5-4.

The board of nine directors would be elected. Five members elected from wards or regions of the city, and four members elected at large from the total area served. They would have staggered terms of three years. The Board of Directors would be responsible for selecting the chief executive officer who would select a personal staff, division directors, and recommend an advisory board.

The advisory board would be composed of representatives from business, education, community organizations, and the various governmental agencies within the area. They could be selected by the Governor, Mayor or chief executive officer, or by their respective professional organizations. Their function would be advisory, and would provide an input for ideas, information, and evaluation at the top level.

Under the chief executive officer would be six division directors who would be responsible for the following areas: (1) general education services, (2) social-recreation services, (3) enrichment services, (4) medical services, (5) economic services, and (6) administrative services.

The director of the general education division would have coordinators for six functions: Elementary education, middle school education, high school education, vocational-technical education, continuing education, and the president of the local community college. They would be responsible for the educational programs carried on within their area.

The social-recreation divisional director would be responsible for social and recreational programs available within the area. This would include programs for pre-school age children, programs for school age children, and the adult social-recreational programs. These programs would use the school site and facilities and would involve the school physical education instructors who would be under the social-recreational division instead of the educational division. Division directors of education and social-recreation could work out schedules where the recreational equipment and facilities could be used effectively.

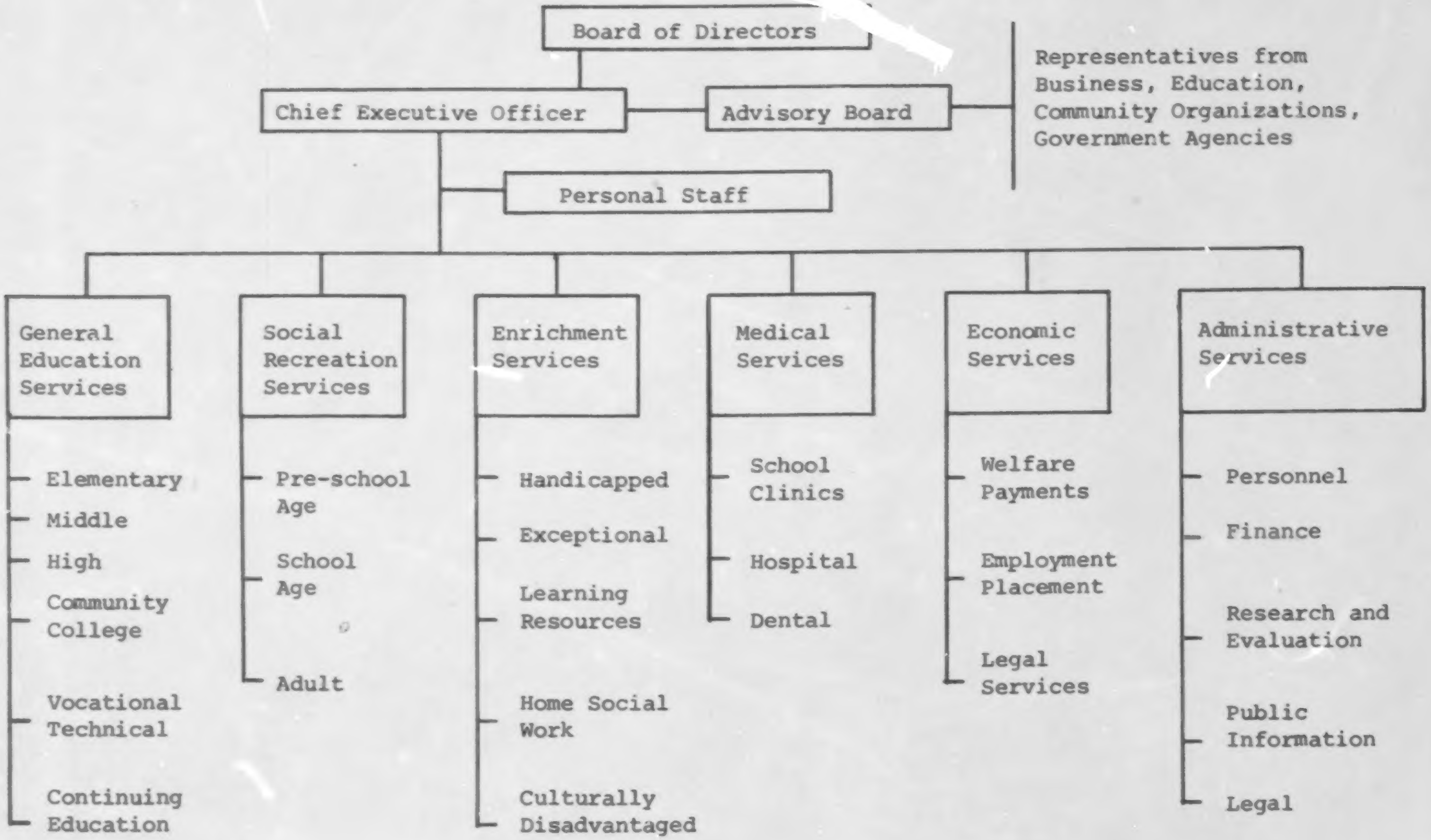

Board of Directors
Chief Executive Officer
Advisory Board
Representatives from Business, Education, Community Organizations, Government Agencies
Personal Staff
General Education Services
Elementary
Middle
High
Community College
Vocational Technical
Continuing Education
Social Recreation Services
Pre-school Age
School Age
Adult
Enrichment Services
Handicapped
Exceptional
Learning Resources
Home Social Work
Culturally Disadvantaged
Medical Services
School Clinics
Hospital
Dental
Economic Services
Welfare Payments
Employment Placement
Legal Services
Administrative Services
Personnel
Finance
Research and Evaluation
Public Information
Legal

Figure 5-4. Coordinated Community Resources Corporation, central administration.

The enrichment division director would have five coordinators who would be responsible for programs designed for handicapped children, exceptional children, learning resource centers, home-social work and culturally disadvantaged pupils. Public libraries would be combined with the school libraries, and would be available to the community and the schools without the organizational distinctions now made. The handicapped, exceptional children, home-social work, and culturally disadvantaged coordinators would have to work very closely with the general education director and the coordinators within the general education division because their functions overlap.

The medical services director would be responsible for the establishment of the school clinics and school nurse program. He would be responsible for developing medical services in a much more extensive manner than typically existing now. School dental care (this is *care*, not just recognition and notification of a dental need) would be available. Outpatient clinics for the health and needs of pupils and adults would be developed at the secondary school centers.

The economic services director would be responsible for operating two programs: (1) a program of financial payments from the welfare departments of the state, county, and city, and (2) a job placement and evaluation center. This center would be available to all within the region served and would work closely with the local businesses not only to place people, but to provide inputs to the educational program on community needs.

The administrative services division would provide personnel, finance, research, evaluation, and public information services for the organization and specific division directors. The personnel division would receive personnel requests, and would work in the areas of recruitment and initial processing. Lists of names and information would then be sent to the proper coordinators who would recommend employment. The finance section would prepare the budget, oversee it, and receive all tax funds and those from private sources. The research and evaluation section would carry on a continuous program of research and evaluation of personnel, programs and needs. They would be available to any section to carry on specific research for them and to assist them in planning and carrying on their own research. Full time legal service for the corporation will be provided in the legal section. The administrative services division would maintain a public information section and assist the other divisions in making their accomplishments and needs known to the public.

Another administrative level for the Coordinated Community Resources Corporation could be that of the regional administrator. The organizational chart for the regional administrator is shown in Figure 5-5.

The regional administrator would be responsible for the general educational, social-recreational, enrichment, medical, economic and administrative services provided through the school centers within his area. He would have an advisory board (the powers of which will be discussed later) elected by the geographic region for which he serves as administrator. He would have a staff consisting of specialists in curriculum, social-recreation, enrichment, medical-dental, economic and administrative services. These staff specialists would coordinate and facilitate the work of the specialist in their area within the school. There would be several curriculum specialists who could be divided either on the basis of elementary, middle and high school level, or on the basis of subject area.

The social-recreational specialist would be responsible for the social and recreational activities within the region, and he would be responsible for coordinating the programs within the individual schools. The enrichment specialist would be aware of the needs of the communities within the region and would help the school enrichment specialist to plan, carry out, and evaluate specific enrichment programs designed for the region and the school centers.

The medical-dental specialist would be responsible for the clinics within the schools, and for the doctors, dentists and other medical personnel who would staff an outpatient clinic in one or two of these school centers within the region. The economic resources specialist, operating out of one of the school sites, would have the records and resources for making the welfare, ADC, and other payments to those on various welfare and unemployment programs. The making of these payments, at one of the school sites, would help facilitate the expectation that the recipients would participate in the programs provided at the school centers to meet their specific needs. The decentralization of this policy to the economic resources specialists of the region could increase the community participation and utilization of the programs at the school centers.

The organizational chart for the Coordinated Community Resource Corporation Model with regional administrators is illustrated in Figure 5-6.

The regional administrators would be responsible to the chief executive officer and to their advisory boards, and would be serving a geographic region of from 250,000 to 500,000 population. The size of the metropolitan area being

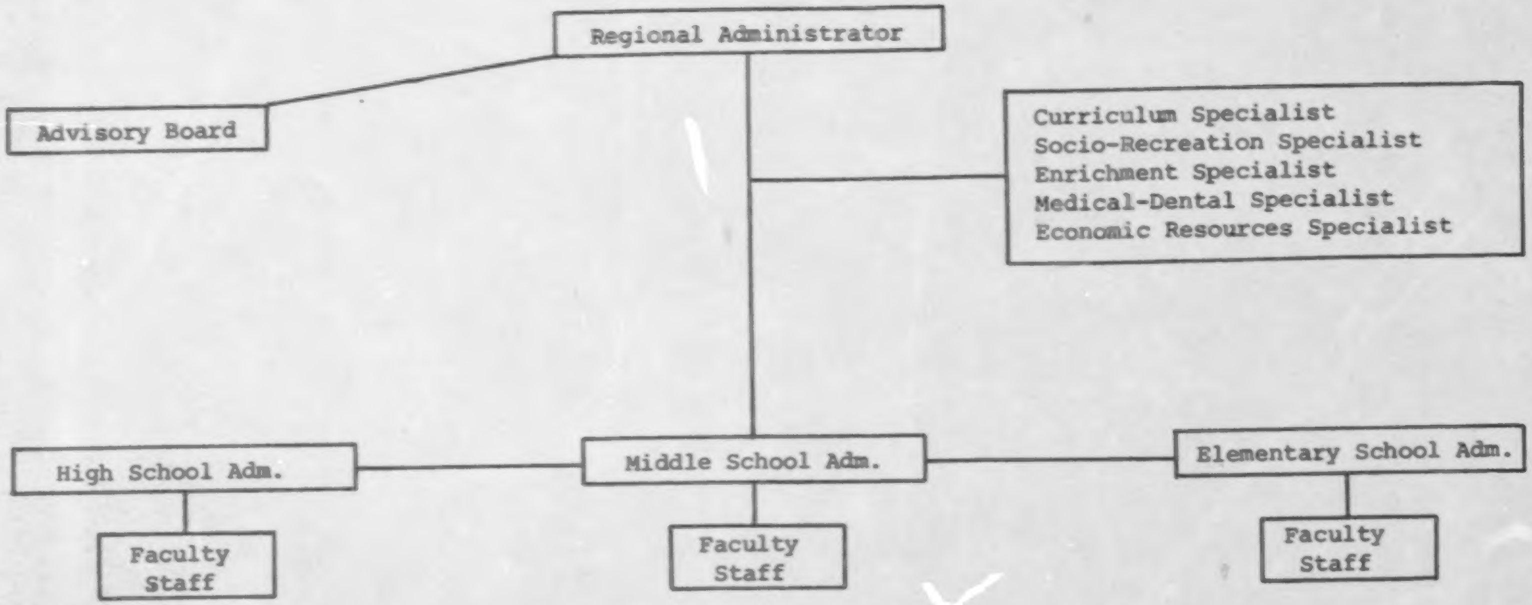

Regional Administrator
Advisory Board
Curriculum Specialist
Socio-Recreation Specialist
Enrichment Specialist
Medical-Dental Specialist
Economic Resources Specialist
High School Adm.
Middle School Adm.
Elementary School Adm.
Faculty Staff
Faculty Staff
Faculty Staff

Figure 5-5: Coordinated Community Resources Services Corporation, regional administration.

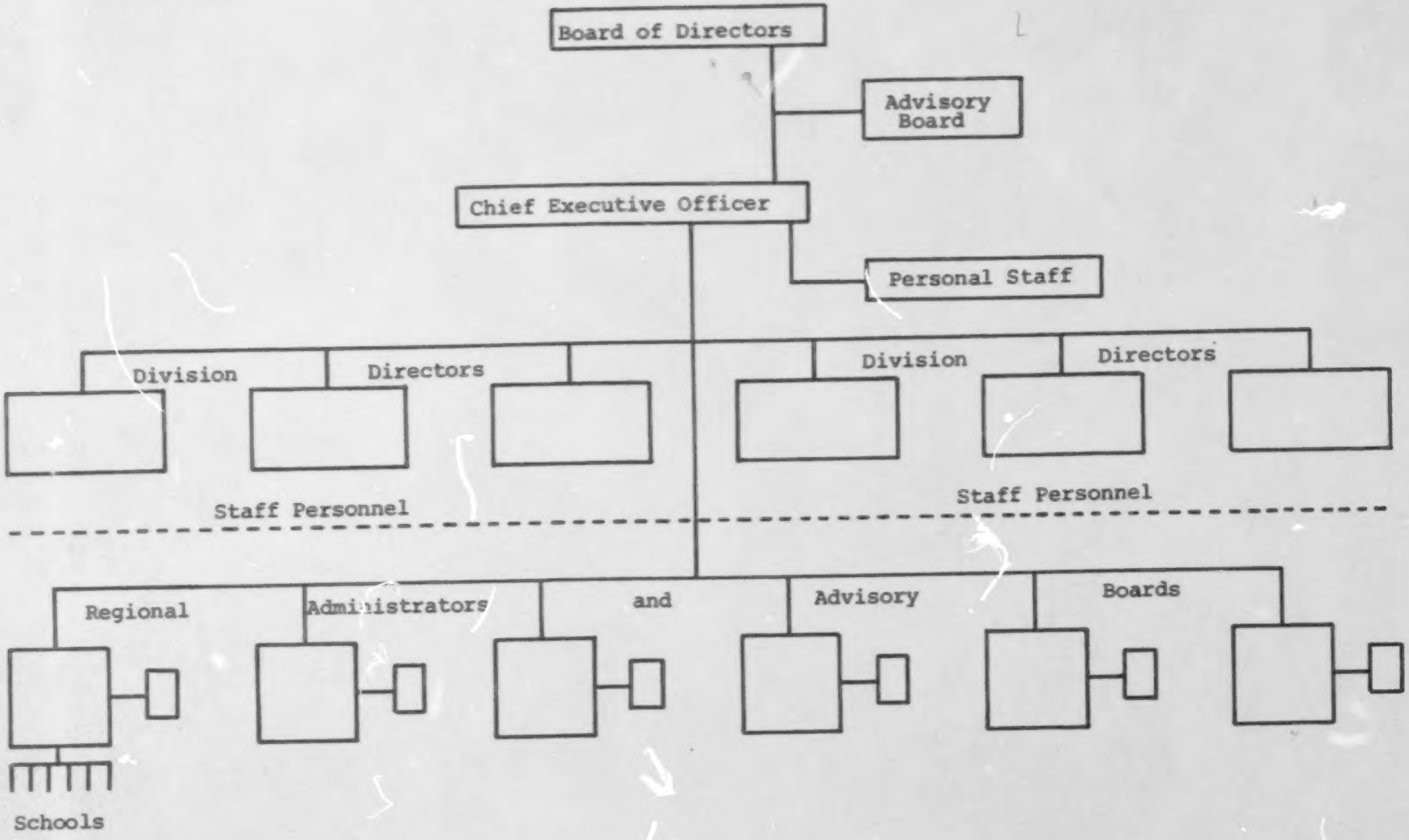

Board of Directors
Advisory Board
Chief Executive Officer
Personal Staff
Division Directors
Division Directors
Staff Personnel
Staff Personnel
Regional Administrators and Advisory Boards
Schools

Figure 5-6. Coordinated Community Resources Corporation Chart with regional administrators.

served and the density of the population would be major determining factors in the scale of size.

The model would extend the concept of education beyond cognitive development. The school centers would be open sixteen or more hours a day with the facilities available to the community twelve months of the year. Education would include pre-school, not just a headstart, nursery, or kindergarten program, but a full program that could even begin at conception. Mothers would be provided with courses and special help at home and in the local schools to prepare them to have children, and to do those things that would enhance the life chances and the self-concept of the child. Through social-recreation, enrichment, and medical-dental divisions services would be provided to pupils, to parents, and others. This would be a program that would not focus on K-12, but on a birth to death basis. The program would assume that education is never finished, and would carry with it the retraining and upgrading of adults as well as enrichment for all ages. Above all, it would stress the basic philosophical concept that as long as one lives he needs to continue to learn, grow, and develop.

Legal Basis

The legal basis for the Coordinated Community Resources Corporation would require a complex set of laws to combine or to allow for the combining of the various functions within a single organization. This legal framework would provide the basic outline in which the organization could function. These laws would include the method of selection of board members, their terms of office and their duties. The basic goals and functions of the corporation would be outlined in the laws.

Transitional phases of cooperation and coordination could precede implementation of this model. This is currently being done in many of the Model Cities programs around the nation.

Financing

The Coordinated Community Resources board would be able to levy property tax within bounds specified by the State Constitution and legislature to support its services. These taxes would be collected by the appropriate regional tax collecting authority. The contributions from the state and federal government to provide the additional programs would come through the central financing division.

In order to provide for the innovation and specific program needs within school centers, each school administrator would have to have a discretionary fund which could be used in accordance with specific needs of the population served by the center. Regional administrators would also need a fund that they could use to meet special program needs.

Pluralistic Models

Within recent years school administrators, as well as other public leaders, have experienced new demands for participation in educational decisions. These demands have emanated from both outside and within the teaching profession. Previously silent minority groups are pressing for a greater share in decision-making. Teachers have become militant in their demands for participation in educational decisions. The traditional system for administering schools has been rendered ineffective by these new expressions of egalitarianism, particularly in the large city school districts. No person can accurately comprehend and describe all factors associated with the failure of the traditional system to function as expected. Obviously, the traditional system was developed to meet the needs of very different communities than those in existence in urban areas today.

The traditional organizational system for education emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century and was shaped by the prominent societal forces of that period. For example, shades of the governmental reform movement (i.e., nonpartisan school board and superintendent) was interwoven in the system. Developments in business administration greatly influenced the organization of school districts. Callahan (1962) has discussed the influence of business practice upon systemized knowledge in educational administration.

The shaping of the system was greatly influenced by the socio-economic, political, and technological community it was designed to serve. During the period in which knowledge was being systematized in educational administration, the political power of school districts was concentrated in economically dominated, socially stabilized political systems. Politics in the cities was dominated by a strong middle class oriented structure. Many "honest, hard working" citizens who chose to go along with the system did not participate effectively in its processes. The Negroes, poor whites, and other disadvantaged people lived and worked under the vast reaches of the rural power systems of the nation. Citizen participation in educational decisions was at best limited. The educational system was not challenged by those who dropped out and found their humble places in the labor intensive economic system. These "forgotten men" and their children are now threatened by the fast developing brain intensive, technological social system.

There are renewed demands from many of these forgotten men to participate in shaping educational policy in the community. Mass population shifts have upset the equilibrium that typified earlier eras, particularly in the urban school systems. This has intensified the development of greater pluralism in political power and, in turn, made the new demands for participation more effective than they had been previously. Schoolmen trained in the traditional concept of educational leadership were not sufficiently prepared to provide leadership in the new politics of the large school districts. In many areas schoolmen must react to a power structure that is mercurial, whereas he has been educated to provide leadership in a well-ordered middle class political system. The middle class oriented organizational systems, which schoolmen have managed, are viewed as dysfunctional by minority groups clamoring for access to the decision-making process. As indicated previously, the administrative process was greatly complicated by teacher militancy and growing pluralization within the profession itself.

Inevitably educators had to reexamine the traditional organizational arrangements for school administration in the light of the new social and political developments discussed previously. There has been considerable interest in creating pluralistic type organizations that would be congruent with the growing political and social pluralism. Those advocating pluralistic type organizations feel that the open system will provide greater opportunities for professional and citizen participation and for pupil growth and development. For illustrative purposes only, two pluralistic type central staff arrangements will be briefly examined.

Some Underlying Assumptions of Pluralistic Organizations

The pluralistic or open system theory of organization begins with the crucial concept that there is more than one person or more than one basic group who should exercise control within an organization. In *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* pluralism was defined as "a state of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial, and religious, or social groups maintain an autonomous participation in and development of their traditional culture or special interest within the confines of a common civilization." To develop a pluralistic model for an urban school system implies that there are certain groups, who by virtue of their knowledge and position, have the right,

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privilege and responsibility to participate in the life and governance of an urban school system.

There are three areas of importance in the development of a pluralistic model. The first crucial area of development is that of a redefinition of the decision-making process. This especially refers to the distribution of the powers among the various groups involved in the process of educational decision-making—that is, among the various subgroups of the educational system and of its environment. The second crucial area is that of the judicial. Previously, certain judicial functions have been carried out by the administrative organization and the lay board. In the pluralistic system this area might be removed from administrative and lay organizations and the responsibility placed in an independent body, responsible for adjudicating conflicts within the school system and between the school system and its environment. The third crucial area is that of the executive functions, which include implementing the educational program and the operation of the organizational structure. Even within the administrative structure, basic areas of change must be included.

Pluralism has been referred to as an organization for diversity. Advocates of pluralism recognize that diverse groups exist within the educational environment. These groups include teachers, administrators, lay groups, legislators, students, parents, and various pressure groups. Even in pluralism, there are various degrees of desire for participation among the groups and within the same groups. Not all the members of any one group desire or will be happy with the same approaches to participation. The greater the degree of autonomy that can be given to persons the greater the degree of control over the external limitations and boundaries that the organization can exercise. The control over these external limitations and boundaries in an organization comes only with control of the decision-making process. This means that ultimate control of the organization cannot rest in the hands of the single individual or a single group.

As teachers, principals, and school administrators increase in their professionalism, they become less willing to be used as instruments for the accomplishment of organizational goals set by others. They have a greater desire to participate in the decisions that involve them. This process of increasing in professionalism, at the same time, includes the growth in expertise and in the development of a knowledge base and social base that enable teachers to be more effective in their participation. Many educators assume that the advent of collective negotiation in education signaled the development of a pluralistic organinization. However, professional negotiation and collective bargaining are merely adaptations of the bureaucratic model and do not inherently meet the criteria of a pluralistic model of organization.

Pluralism is more of a collection of concepts from many authors and sources than a unified theory. These authors have a common orientation in the assumption that the organization is a living system composed of human components with a complex of variables that are beyond human comprehension and control. They view organizations as being in a constant state of change and therefore continually "emerging." Thompson (1967) sees the concept of homeostasis or self-stabilization as governing the necessary relationship among the organizational parts and activities and as a means of keeping the system viable in the interaction process with its environment.

Organizational theorists have been concerned with the possible incongruency between the organizational and individual dimensions of formal organizations. In his well-known book, Barnard (1938) was concerned with two organizational dimensions: (1) the functions and methods of the executive and (2) the theory of organization and cooperation. He further described a successful organization as meeting two conditions: (1) "effectiveness" or meeting the goals of the organization and (2) "efficiency" or satisfaction of individual motives. Getzels (1958) developed a model to explain the interaction of these dimensions. This was presented as aspects of the nomothetic and idiographic dimensions as shown in Figure 5-7.

In describing his model, he said social behavior is the result of the two dimensions, and the closer they are together the more efficient and effective the organization. Argyris (1964) reached the conclusion that there was incongruency between the personal need dispositions and the demands of traditional bureaucratic organizations.

The assumption is often implied or expressed that effective participation of teachers in decision-making processes will produce congruency between the personal needs and organizational goals dimensions. Yet there is reason to believe that this is an oversimplified answer to rather complex motivational problems. Nevertheless, the idea that greater participation through the creation of new, pluralistic organizational arrangements will create greater congruency in these dimensions is worthy of testing.

Morphet, Johns, and Reller (1967) proposed the following assumptions that underly the development of pluralistic type school organizations.

1. Leadership is not confined to those holding status positions in the power echelon.

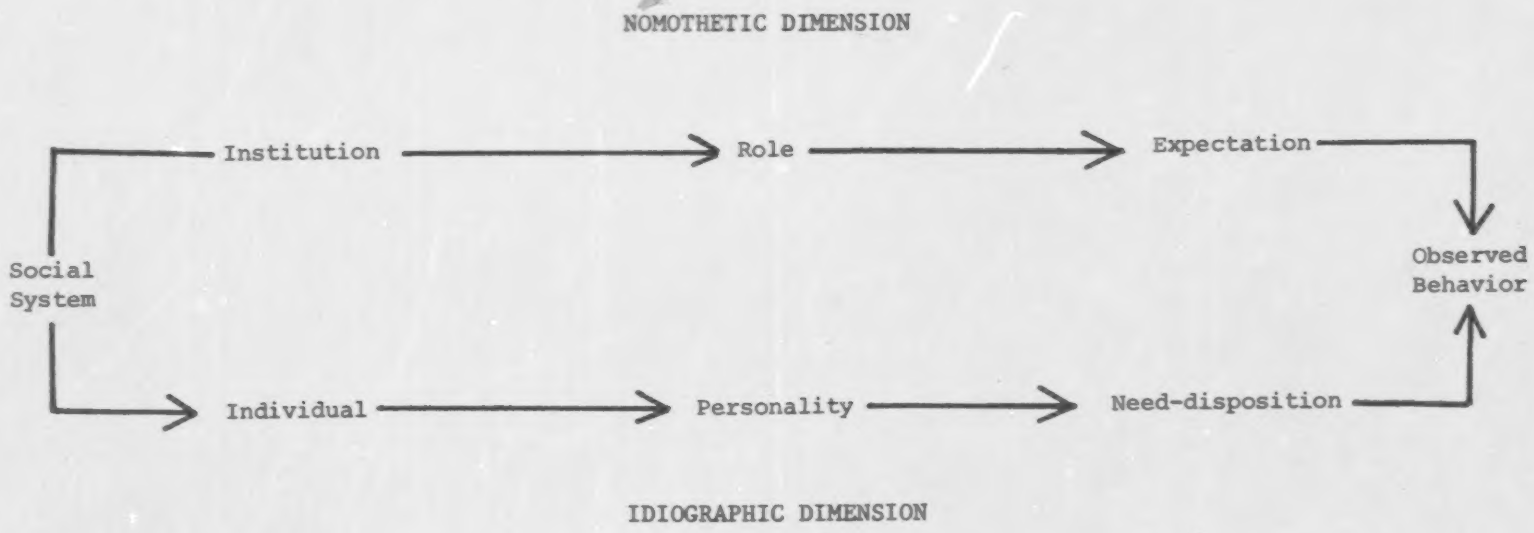
NOMOTHETIC DIMENSION
Institution
Role
Expectation
Social System
Observed Behavior
Individual
Personality
Need-disposition
IDIOGRAPHIC DIMENSION

Figure 5-7. Getzel's model of organizational system.

2. Good human relations are essential to group production and to meet the needs of individual members of the group.

3. Responsibility as well as power and authority can be shared.

4. Those affected by program or policy should share in decision-making with respect to that program or policy.

5. Individual finds security in a dynamic climate in which he shares responsibility for decision-making.

6. Unity of purpose is secured through consensus and group loyalty.

7. Maximum production is attained in a threat-free climate.

8. The line and staff organization should be used exclusively for the purpose of dividing labor and implementing policies and programs developed by the total group affected.

9. The situation and not the position determines the right and privilege to exercise authority.

10. The individual in the organization is not expendable.

11. Evaluation is a group responsibility.

Participating appears to be a key term in the discussion of complex organizations. The above discussion has centered upon the significance of the organizational arrangements in providing opportunity for participation. Educators must not overlook the significance of political theory in attempting to develop pluralistic models for the administration of schools.

Importance of Developing Democratic Political Systems

In considering the matter of improving patterns of meaningful participation in the administration of schools, educators should not lose sight of the fact that school organizations are subsystems of larger political systems. The openness possible in the organizational arrangements for education will be influenced by the type of community power system characterizing the school district. That is, one might experience difficulty in developing an open system organization for schools in a closed community power system. Thus the political climate within which schools function may facilitate or deter the operation of a pluralistic organization. Presumably, the power structure that is described as a democratic pluralism will facilitate citizen participation in all aspects of public life. On the other hand, studies have shown that public participation is very weak in monopolistic type power systems.

This is reason enough for educators to use their influence, in cooperation with other community leaders, to help develop mature political systems. Presthus (1964) described several criteria for political pluralism. He stated that to have a pluralistic structure: (1) competing centers of power must be present; (2) persons must have opportunity for access to decision-making; (3) the people actively participate and make their will felt in many ways; (4) elections are viable means of mass participation in decisions; and (5) a consensus exists concerning democratic values.

Theorists place much emphasis upon meaningful participation in describing mature democratic systems. Educators face an uphill struggle in providing opportunities for meaningful participation in many elite run school districts. Agger and associates (1964) discussed four types of regimes or structures of political power: (1) underdeveloped democracy, (2) oligarchy, (3) guided democracy, and (4) developed democracy. The genuineness of participation and the perceptions people had concerning opportunities for participation in governance helped determine whether a community was placed in these categories. Unfortunately, many schoolmen must attempt to develop organizations in underdeveloped democracies where meaningful participation does not exist.

The extent of participation in the organization and administration of schools is influenced by the political system within which schools function. If the political system exhibits a high degree of pluralism and effective citizen participation, schoolmen will experience considerable difficulty in attempting to operate organizations that discourage participation and vice versa. Thus educators must look beyond the school organization for leadership in developing structures for meaningful participation.

Needed: Some Innovative Organizational Models

As stated previously, educators should attempt to think about organizational models that are congruent with the socioeconomic political systems served and which will give greatest opportunity for programs maximizing pupil growth and development. This means that educators should take previously untried models and apply them conceptually to the process of education. If in conducting these conceptual tests some organizational arrangements seem feasible, serious trials should be arranged among some school districts. In attempting the conceptual testing of organizational ideas, educational leaders may "live dangerously" so-to-speak. That is, they may project innovative ideas freely regardless of their acceptability to the professional norms of the system.

With this in mind two conceptual models very different from existing organizations are given. We emphasize that the discussion of these two models is for illustrative purposes only. Obviously, these are only two of many ways in which pluralistic-type organizations can be conceptualized.

In the first discussion a concept of organization is taken from another field and applied to the administration of education. In this instance the application of the theory of checks and balances underlying the United States Government was applied to the administration of schools. There are many possibilities for applying existing models from other fields to education.

The Federal Model

As stated earlier in the paper, there are three essential parts of the pluralistic organization. (1) There should be a redefinition of the decision-making process to encourage maximum effective participation in all levels of the organization by all persons affected by the decisions made at that level. (2) There should be a redefinition of the judicial area. (3) There should be a redefinition of the executive function in relation to the legislative process. The executive should be removed from the singular head responsibility so characteristic of earlier business organizations.

One possible way to achieve these changes is to group each of these functions in a separate division of the school system. This would parallel the theory underlying the United States Federal Government in that the organization would have a legislative branch, a judicial branch, and an executive branch.

Organizational chart and brief description.—Separating the three basic functions would produce an organizational chart that has a school board responsible for the legislative function, a review board responsible for the judicial function, and a chief administrator responsible for the executive function. The organizational chart can be represented as shown in Figure 5-8.

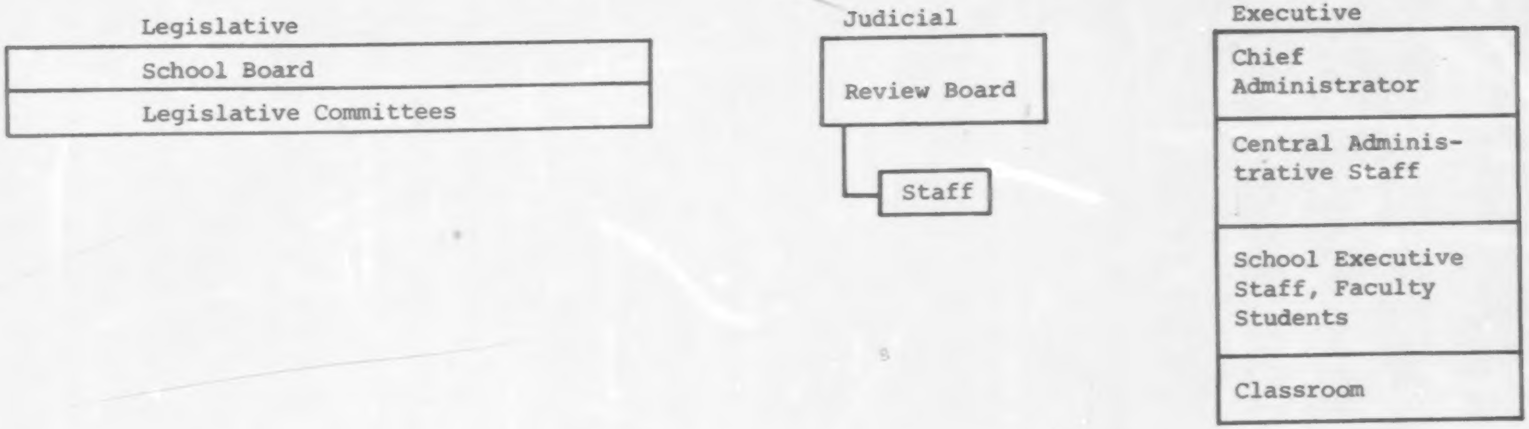
Legislative
School Board
Legislative Committees
Judicial
Review Board
Staff
Executive
Chief Administrator
Central Administrative Staff
School Executive Staff, Faculty Students
Classroom

Figure 5-8. Federal model applied to educational organization.

As is true of the federal government, there would not be an absolute division of powers among the three branches of school administration. Consequently, the plan should provide for the legislative board to have a share in executive affairs and for the executive to have certain legislative powers. For example, the chief administrator could call special sessions of the board. He could provide information concerning educational conditions, recommend programs for consideration, and under certain conditions refuse to implement programs passed by the board.

The legislative board could consist of twenty-five to thirty members or more and would have the responsibility for financing, establishing the educational policy, appropriating funds, and reviewing and evaluating the program. Through districting and increasing the membership on the board greater representation and effectiveness of participation are encouraged. Current educational theory discourages standing committees on a school board. However, a board of this size could make use of legislative committees. Public hearings could be held by the committees as a means for increasing participation. These committees could deal with the crucial aspects of the educational system. The board would also have the power to establish special legislative investigation committees. The legislative function of the school board would include the determination of educational policies, the goals of the educational system, the procedures for operation of the educational program, and appropriations. The school board could also have an executive committee consisting of the chairman of the legislative committees. This means that the board could operate in a manner very similar to the current legislative process in the state and federal governments.

The school board could be composed of members elected in the following manner: (1) Members could be elected by the public who would be representatives of specific geographic areas of the region served by the school system. (2) Members could be appointed by the Mayor or chief political officer of the region being served. (3) Members could be elected by the professional teacher organization, the administrative professional organization, and the service and maintenance organizations. If desired, the system could be made more representative by increasing its membership.

The review board (see Figure 5-8) would be responsible for mediating or adjudicating conflicts between the legislative and executive branches; between levels within the executive organization; between administrative personnel and classroom personnel; and between school personnel and community groups and individuals.

This board would consist of three to five members appointed by an external authority. The most logical source of appointment is probably the chief educational officer of the state. The board would be available to members of the school system or the community for information and action.

The executive branch would have the primary responsibility for leadership in program development and for the implementation of the programs adopted by the legislative board. Members of the executive branch would be available as administrative consultants for study committees established by the board. As indicated previously, the chief administrator and his assistants would provide information to the board and recommend programs for consideration. The implementation of authorized programs would be the exclusive responsibility of the executive branch with no interference from the legislative branch. Thus under this model, the board would have to leave the implementation and operation of the school system to the chief administrator.

A crucial element of the federal model is the selection of the chief administrative officer. There are several processes by which the chief administrative officer could be selected. A process could be arranged to make his selection completely separated from the board. Another possibility would be to make his selection more like the parliamentary approach than the federal plan of checks and balances. Some authorities would argue that the process of education is too technical to expect selection via public election. A way would have to be found to assure the selection of a dynamic, professionally educated administrator. The community might make use of an elective board whose only task is to elect a chief school administrator. There are numerous other possibilities. The professional organizations of the school system—that is, the teaching and administrative organizations—could jointly submit nominations for the position to the legislative board through the administrative personnel committee. The school board would then have the responsibility of selecting the new chief administrator from among the nominees. The chief administrator would serve a three or four year term with an option for contract extension upon the recommendation of the teaching and administrative organizations.

Financing.—The school board would be responsible for (1) appropriating the amount of funds needed, (2) the determination of the sources from which these funds would be secured, and (3) the allocation of the secured funds to the executive branch. The executive branch would make prior analysis and would recommend budgets and programs to the legislative committees and to the school board itself.

Egalitarian Model

The description of the federal model involved the direct application of a political model to school governance. Another possibility for generating different organizational models for urban school districts is to use innovative concepts as a basis of reorganization. In this section we have attempted to incorporate some novel concepts of pluralism into a description of an organizational arrangement.

Rationale.—In the egalitarian model, pluralism is defined as the source of power to accomplish cooperatively defined goals and purposes and as the process for accomplishing the collegially determined purposes and goals. Such a process requires substantial agreement with the source of authority and power, if the objectives of that authority and power are to be achieved. The egalitarian model divides the decision-making process into two basic areas. One is the area of lay responsibility and the second is the area of professional responsibility. In addition, the egalitarian model maintains a separation of the judicial from the executive functions.

The source of all decisions is located in the persons who are most affected by those decisions. A pluralistic educational system begins with the establishment of the goals and purposes for which that system exists. This is a lay function to be carried out by persons representing the community.

Organizational chart and brief description.—The egalitarian model was developed to illustrate how participation can be provided in a meaningful manner through the division of power and authority into specific functions of responsibility. This model is an example of extreme fragmentation of organizational functions under the pluralistic point of view. It is very far removed from the monocratic bureaucratic structure. It may prove to be equally as dysfunctional in practice as the traditional bureaucratic structure. Figure 5-9 depicts four possible areas of primary responsibility and those who are responsible for the attainment of these areas. It also describes the advisory responsibility. The lay board is composed of citizens who are elected from geographic areas of the system served and others appointed by the Mayor (or chief political officer of the area). The lay board has a staff to assist it in carrying out its primary responsibilities. The lay board is responsible for: (1) the determination of educational needs, (2) the determination of educational goals that reflect these needs, (3) the securing of funds to accomplish these educational goals, and (4) the evaluation of the educational programs that have been implemented to determine if and how they are achieving the

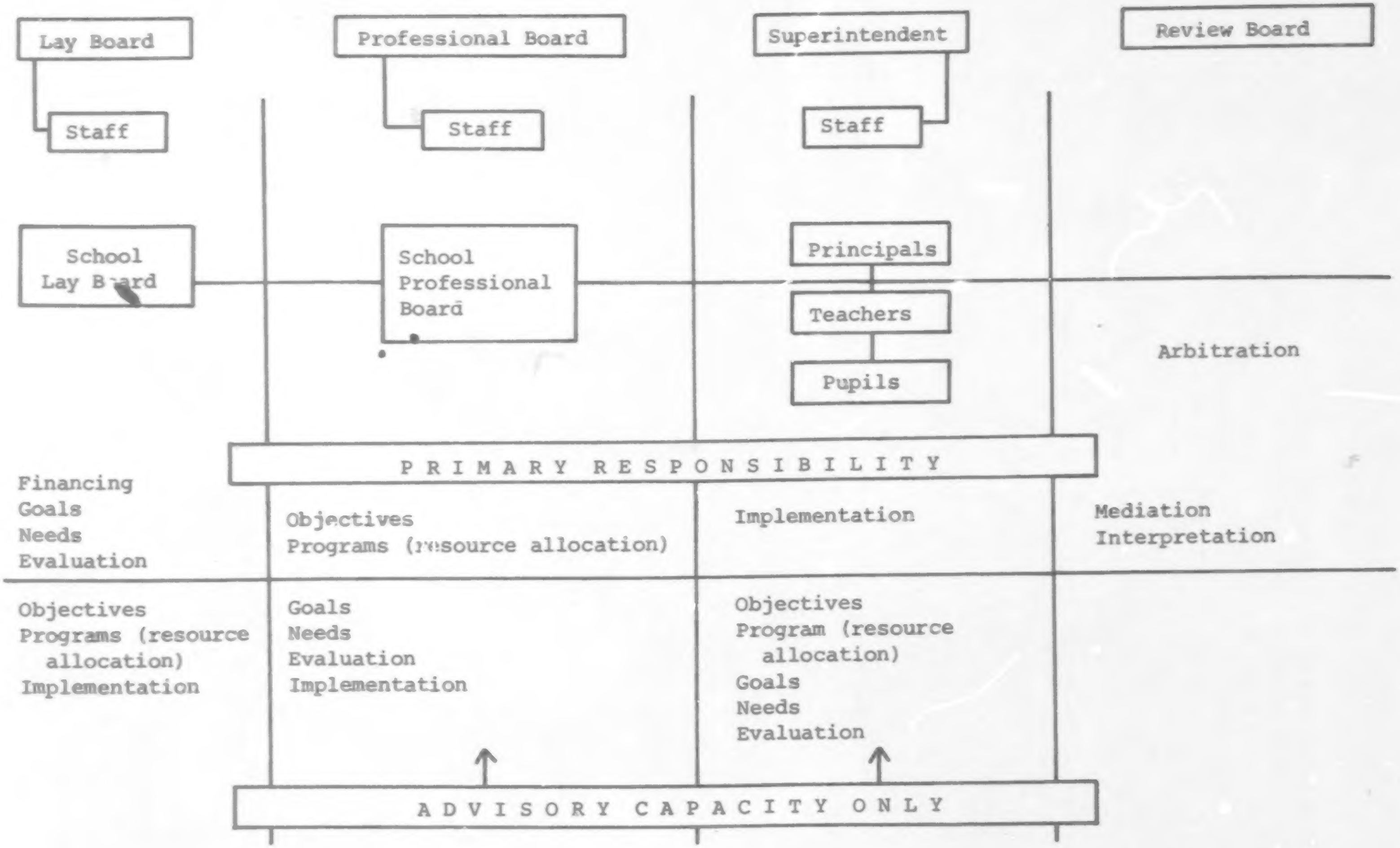
Lay Board
Staff
School Lay Board
Professional Board
Staff
School Professional Board
Superintendent
Staff
Principals
Teachers
Pupils
Review Board
Arbitration
PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY
Financing
Goals
Needs
Evaluation
Objectives
Programs (resource allocation)
Implementation
Mediation
Interpretation
Objectives
Programs (resource allocation)
Implementation
Goals
Needs
Evaluation
Implementation
Objectives
Program (resource allocation)
Goals
Needs
Evaluation
ADVISORY CAPACITY ONLY

Figure 5-9. Illustration of four areas of responsibility.

educational goals. The lay board will consist of seven to nine members who will serve rotating terms.

The professional board is composed of members elected from the following four groups: the teacher organization, the administrative organization, the service and maintenance organization, and secondary school pupils. Like the lay board, the professional board also has a staff of full-time members who are responsible for assisting (1) in the translation of educational needs and goals into attainable objectives and (2) in the translation of these objectives into specific educational programs. This means that the professional board will be responsible for the allocation of the educational resources secured by the lay board. The professional board will produce the educational budget, which is basically a professional decision. The professional board will also assist in an advisory capacity to the system lay board, review board, and to the superintendent.

The third area consists of the superintendent, his staff, and the personnel at the central office and school level who carry on the educational programs. The superintendent has the final responsibility for the implementation of the educational programs determined by the professional board. He serves as the chief advisory officer assisting the lay, professional, and review boards in the attainment of their primary responsibility.

The review board represents the fourth area of responsibility. This board has responsibility for arbitration and mediation between individuals and groups within the system and between the system, or parts of the system, and the environment. The board may be appointed by a combination of officials serving as an exofficio appointing board or by the chief executive officer of the state. The review board also has responsibility for the interpretation of policies, rules and regulations.

The process of pluralism.—Pluralism is not an end, but is a means that can be described as a process. The system lay board has the responsibility for the determination of educational needs and goals. These goals are then taken by the system professional board and translated into attainable objectives which are, in turn, developed into specific educational programs. These educational programs are implemented under the authority of the school superintendent, and the programs are then evaluated by the system lay board. The results of the evaluation are used in determining new needs and goals for the educational system, which will then result in new attainable objectives, and the process continues. The superintendent occupies a crucial position in the process of pluralism in that he carries basic responsibility for the area of program implementation and advisory responsibility for all other areas. The process is shown in Figure 5-10.

If pluralism, as described in the egalitarian model, were carried to its logical conclusion, the process would operate at each school with a school lay board determining needs and goals, a school professional board translating these needs and goals into objectives and programs (the principal being responsible for implementation), and the system lay board evaluating and thereby revising the needs and goals. If the process were carried on at the local school level, the system professional board members could be elected by the school professional boards.

The process of pluralism, both on the system and on the school level, involves a concensus or group approach. No one person or group exercises a veto within the process. In order to be effective, the process of pluralism will require time for the professionals to develop resources and understanding of the total system. This means that professionals elected to the system or school board will need at least 20 percent released time from their job assignment. The cost of their time will be borne by the system itself.

Financing.—The system lay board is responsible for determining the amount of funds that shall be secured from local sources, for securing this money, and for appropriating the money in broad categories in relation to the goals that have been set for the educational system. The professional board would be responsible for the specific allocation of funds and the preparation of program budgets to fund the educational programs that are the logical result of the educational needs and goals. The superintendent is responsible for spending the funds in accordance with the budget and for maintaining adequate records and procedures. The lay board is responsible for securing an annual audit from an external source.

The pluralism becomes most real in the budgetary process because the lay board determines how much money, the professional board determines the specific spending categories, and the superintendent actually disburses the funds. One can anticipate, for example, that the professional board will desire more money than the lay board will secure. At this point the school professional board will have to allocate the available funds on the basis of priorities. This process will call for no small amount of negotiation between the two boards. At all times the review board is available for arbitration or negotiation.

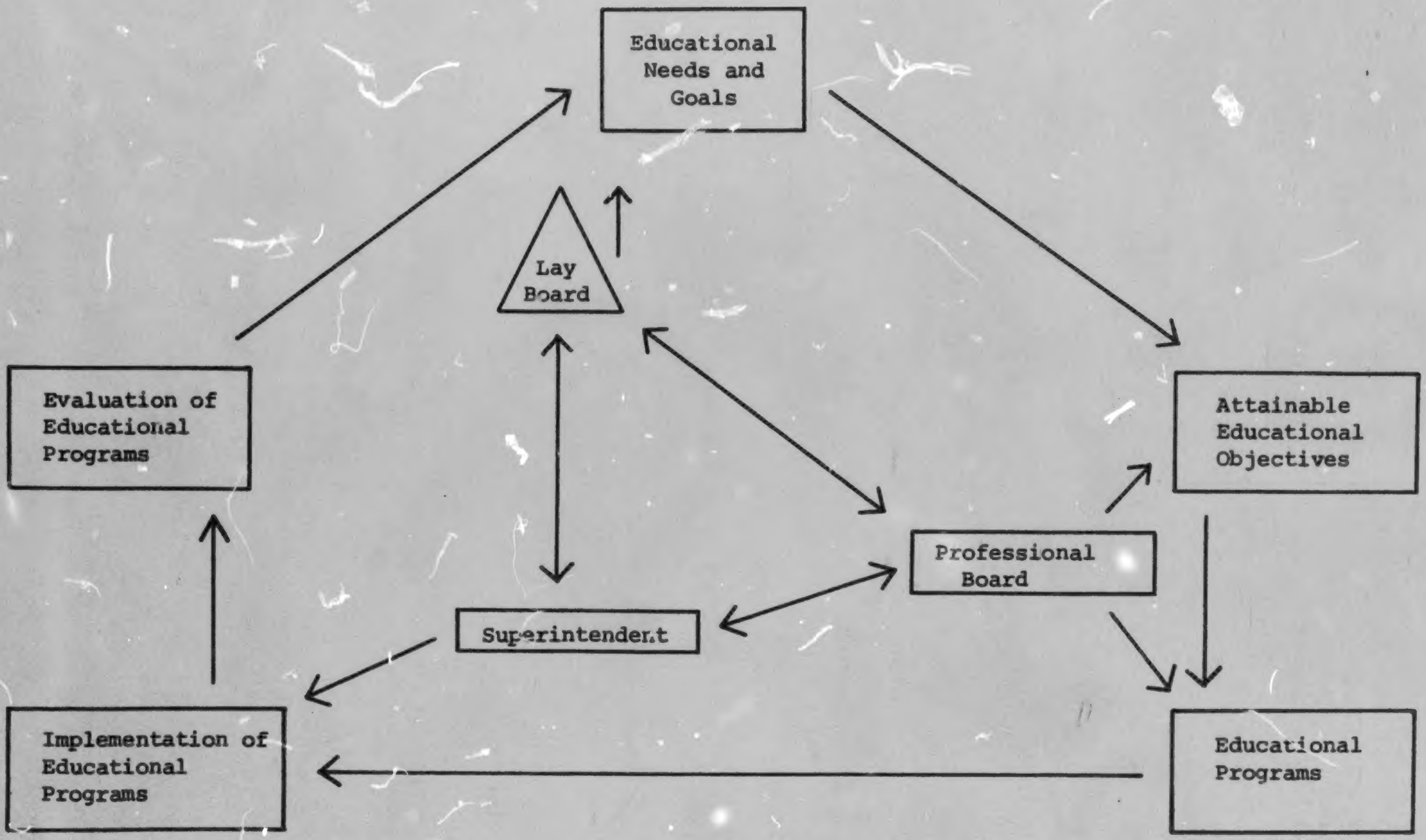
Educational Needs and Goals
Lay Board
Evaluation of Educational Programs
Attainable Educational Objectives
Professional Board
Superintendent
Implementation of Educational Programs
Educational Programs

Figure 5-10. The process of pluralism illustrated.

Selection of personnel.—The professional board and the lay board could jointly develop criteria for selecting the superintendent. Based on these criteria, the professional board should recommend persons for the office of superintendent to the lay board, and the lay board would then elect a superintendent. In the event that the nominee or nominees were unacceptable, the professional board would submit the names of additional persons. Staff positions will be filled by the superintendent in accordance with criteria developed by the lay and professional boards. The superintendent could be given authority to appoint school principals and teachers. This would give him a base of power with the professional and lay boards. Another possibility would be to require the school superintendent to appoint principals subject to confirmation by the professional board and in consideration of criteria advocated by the lay board.

Participation in individual schools.—Considerable attention needs to be given to organizing for the cooperative participation of parents, teachers, and students at the level of the individual school. Numerous studies have indicated that there is very poor communication among the school personnel, parents, and many of the students of the school. Furthermore, studies of the social system of these schools indicate that many of them exhibit extreme closedness.

In the past educators have tried various kinds of official and unofficial advisory groups as a means to promote cooperative planning among school personnel, parents, and students. Parent teachers' organizations are prevalent among the schools. Within recent years, there has been a revival of interest in the community school as a means of promoting an effective communication linkage between the school and the attendance area it serves. Interestingly, these approaches have met both success and failure. There are many schools in which viable parent teacher participation and cooperation is a reality. In many other schools this cooperation is missing, and, in too many instances, animosity exists between teachers and parents.

Not enough is known about how to achieve more cooperative parent-teacher participation in individual schools. A change in the central organization would help. Local schools have been too standardized by bureaucratic organizations. The chief argument being advanced for the "voucher plan" is that it would give parents options of different types of schools to which they could send their children. The "option" in the minds of the advocates of the voucher plan is of course a private school. However, there is no reason except bureaucratic rigidity why options of different types of schools emphasizing different goals, specialties, and methods of teaching cannot be provided in a public school system. Some writers suggest that the schools are too much like the "factory organization" and are possibly becoming more so each year. Perhaps individual schools should be given greater autonomy than they have enjoyed in the past. This would provide opportunity for the exercise of leadership by administrators and teachers. There is little reason for encouraging cooperative participation in the operation of schools if most decisions are made and handed down from a central bureaucracy.

Leadership ability is necessary for successful school-community participation. In many of the ghetto areas of large cities, the old power arrangements have been supplanted by a structure that is mercurial. Traditionally, educators were taught to react to a stable power system. They have not been schooled in the political process of continuously identifying community leaders and providing leadership in organizing a structure for effective cooperation. School principals need to be astute political leaders so that they can, in cooperation with other community and educational leaders, provide formal and informal means for effective school-community cooperation.

Encouraging Participation

Describing new organizational arrangements to provide opportunity for participation in the process of education is a very complex task. It will require the investment of much more inventive effort than has been exhibited during past decades. One must always realize that providing the opportunity for meaningful participation will not assure involvement of professional personnel and citizens in making decisions. Some would argue that, if the opportunity is provided for participation, the organizational theorist has fulfilled his obligation. This is debatable. If people do not participate regularly, they tend to lose opportunity for future participation in educational decisions because the formal structure for power tends to be superceded by the build-up of informal power. Thus another very important problem is to provide leadership in encouraging lay citizens and professional personnel to use the opportunity to participate.

Numerous writers have emphasized the need to make changes in educational organizations to provide greater public and professional participation in the operation of schools. There is much criticism of existing organizations. However, when one searches this literature for descriptions of organizational models to replace the present organizations, he is discouraged by the lack of well-developed, conceptually tested replacements for the traditional bureaucratic model.

Thus critical analyses of existing organizations (describing what is) are much easier and academically safer than attempting minute descriptions of innovative substitutes. Many have discussed, in very general terms, the advantages of adopting pluralistic models.

A pluralistic organization is designed for more openness, diversity, and division of the power than currently rests in the bureaucratic organization. A pluralistic organization depends upon the effective participation of personnel at all levels. This plan is supposed to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the organization because all of the assets of the organization can be utilized more fully than in the monolithic structure. Also, the added opportunities for participation are supposed to increase the likelihood that the public schools will provide services congruent with the educational needs of the students served and of the teachers who teach. Yet a pluralistic organization is itself one among several options for the urban school administrator. Pluralistic organizational arrangements are not fully enough developed at this writing for immediate implementation. There are some immediate possibilities for conceptually testing some models. This process should be expedited. The conceptual testing should be followed by some very carefully designed field trials of different organizational arrangements.

Approaches to Bureaucratic Modification

Many of the so-called attempts to reorganize large school districts are modifications in the bureaucratic structures. One may well question whether such modifications really remove some of the problems associated with bureaucratization in complex organizations. Nevertheless, since modification is frequently practiced, the purpose of this section is to illustrate two approaches to modifying the traditional bureaucratic organization. The writers emphasize that these are illustrative only. Many different modifications could be, and indeed are, tried.

Program Planning and Budgeting System

Since the Program Planning and Budgeting System (PPBS) threatens to reach "band wagon" adoption in some states, the staff considered reorganizing the bureaucratic organization using this technique. The PPBS is not applicable only to the bureaucratic models. *Indeed the technique is applicable to any and all of the organizational models discussed in this report.*

The major elements of an educational program planning and budgeting system include: (1) A comprehensive program structuring and defining the educational objectives; (2) A systematic identification and analysis of the alternative means to achieve the educational objectives; (3) A multi-year program and financial plan for attaining the objectives; and (4) a listing of provisions and procedures for periodic updating and revision of the educational objectives through review of actual performance in achieving the objectives.

The organizational charts in most urban school systems are differentiated on the basis of function. For example, the assistant superintendents normally serve in the following areas: Instruction, personnel, pupil personnel services, administration, business, and special services.

Organizational Chart Based on PPBS Technique

E. L. Lindman, as part of the National Educational Finance Project, developed a school finance matrix using PPBS. Lindman divided the programs into three basic types: (1) Instructional Programs under which he included the basic foundation programs to supplement the foundation program, special education, vocational education, compensatory education, cultural and recreational programs, (2) Student Services, under which he included pupil transportation, counseling, health services, lunch program and student activities, and (3) Supporting Services under which he included administration, maintenance and operation of plant construction and equipment of plant. This breakdown of programs does not correspond to many organizational charts used today. In order to make control and responsibility effective, the traditional organizational charts will have to be changed to reflect these areas.

Using Lindman's school finance matrix the organizational chart shown in Figure 5-11 was developed.

According to some observers this reorganization is functional and programmatic and enables the evaluation process and the review process to be carried out within the individual divisions of the urban school system. This means that responsibility is not lost, but is focused.

The superintendent will need to develop a new role for himself. He does not make all the decisions, but he involves others in his actual decision-making process through PPBS. PPBS does not relieve him of the necessity of making decisions; rather, it changes the process into a much more systematic practice.

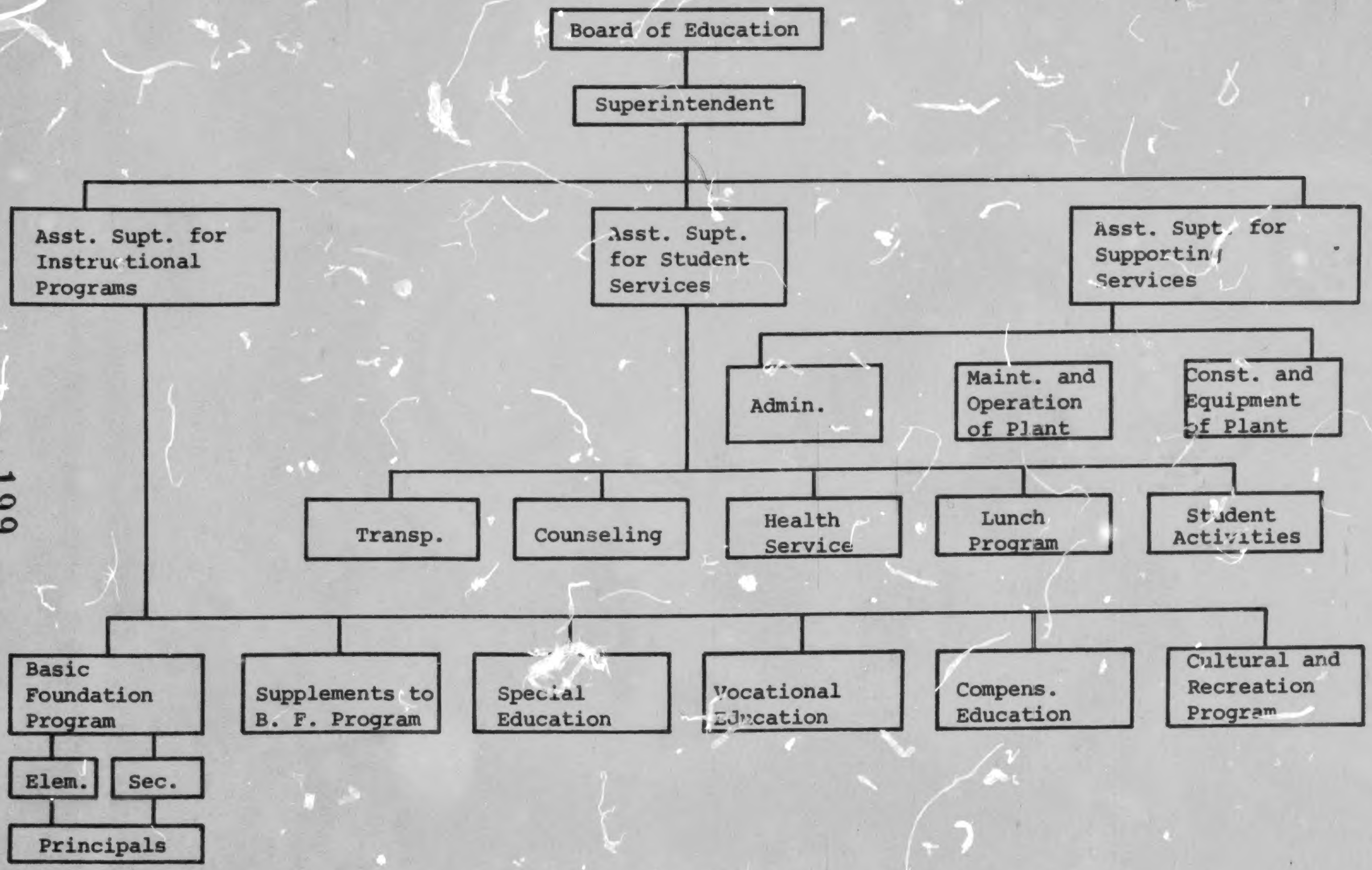
Board of Education
Superintendent
Asst. Supt. for Instructional Programs
Asst. Supt. for Student Services
Asst. Supt. for Supporting Services
Admin.
Maint. and Operation of Plant
Const. and Equipment of Plant
Transp.
Counseling
Health Service
Lunch Program
Student Activities
Basic Foundation Program
Supplements to B. F. Program
Special Education
Vocational Education
Compens. Education
Cultural and Recreation Program
Elem.
Sec.
Principals

Figure 5-11. Bureaucratic organization using PPBS technique.

The basic foundation program is the largest of the fourteen program areas and a special title should be given to the director of this program to indicate the crucial nature of this specific program.

System Spanning Unit

Most urban school administrators are not ready to adopt, nor are most university professors of educational administration ready to recommend one of the pluralistic models described earlier. Yet, many persons connected with urban education recognize a need to improve the communication pattern, both within the school system and with the community. The use of system spanning is one alternative for accomplishing improved responsiveness in bureaucratic organizations.

Rationale.—General systems theory enables one to look at a school system as a living social system composed of people and subsystems. Most observers are able to recognize some of the obvious subsystems, such as that of the school, classes, central administration, teachers, administrators, the school board, parents, and students. Even a casual glance at this list indicates that few of these subsystems are discrete, that some people are members of three or four of these subsystems. The bureaucratic model seeks to link these subsystems together through a superordinate-subordinate structure for decision-making and communication. This hierarchical arrangement of superordinate-subordinate relationship is used for the communication and for the decision-making process. Within the urban school setting, it is an understatement to say that the bureaucratic model is not totally satisfactory.

One concept that develops from social systems theory is that of system spanning units, which by definition are designed or developed to cross subsystems boundaries and to cross the boundary of the school system itself. Most persons are familiar with some examples of system spanning units. The school board is designed to cross the boundary between the school system and the school's environment. In fact, the members are elected from the environment, yet they are members of the school system. The principal has always possessed the role of linking the school, that is, the teachers and the classes, with the central office; as well as linking what takes place within the school with the parents. Athletics within the secondary schools, and especially football, has served as a crucial emotional and psychological spanning unit that pulls the student body and parents together. In many large urban high schools football is probably the only activity in which a majority of the students participate at least emotionally.

From the European countries the concept of the ombudsman has been developed. He is within the system, yet not within the system and is an input point for gripes, grievances and ideas. Critics of the community power structures indicate that especially within an urban city the structure tends to be pluralistic but still exists as a viable informal structure. The ombudsman approach seeks to link together individuals, businesses, and philosophies so that coordinated action can be effected. Almost every person within a school system has informal social contacts in the community, people to whom they interpret the school system and from whom they receive information and feedback.

Many school systems have tried to accomplish some of the objectives of a system spanning but most have had a notable lack of success. One example is a school system research staff visited during the time that a secondary school was being boycotted. The central office had an attractive young lady at the reception desk whose job was to be available to the public for telephone or personal communication and information. The secondary school had been experiencing a boycott, almost a riot, from approximately 8:30 A.M. It was 3:00 P.M. in the afternoon before she was given any official information as to what to say to the community, parents, or reporters.

Organization of system spanning unit.—Instead of depending upon the multitude of informal and semi-formal contacts an urban school system might develop a unit with sufficient status and resources that it can effectively accomplish the goal of spanning the community and professional establishments. It needs to be formalized even on the organizational chart and its functions need to be spelled out in writing, not only for the benefit of the board, but for the benefit of the community and participants within the school system. The establishment of such a unit does not eliminate the needs of the system to maintain all other types of system spanning operations. In fact, one of the primary functions of this unit would be to encourage semi-formal and informal system spanning.

This department or division should be attached out to the side of the superintendent where it can have direct access to the superintendent but would have no line duties or responsibilities. It would serve to span subsystems within the school system and to reach across the boundaries of the school system into the community. This subsystem must early establish its integrity and its responsiveness when called upon from within the system. It needs to provide information whenever requested and access where needed by an individual either external or internal to the system. This unit should seek to provide the necessary access. In effect, the unit should seek to open up the system for ideas, innovation, interpretation. The unit should have the ability to establish ad hoc committees for study groups and other related activities. Ad hoc committees comprised of teachers, administrators, lay people and students have frequently been quite useful in performing system spanning functions.

Review board.—In most large urban school districts, parents, students and even principals feel that the size and formality of the bureaucratic structure prevent them from effective participation in the governance process. Equally as crucial it prevents them from putting ideas and information into the system, and from receiving information and adjustment from the system. As stated earlier, the ombudsman functions to provide access information and has informal power and influence within the system in order to effect certain changes. The larger size of the modern urban school bureaucracy may effectively prohibit a single individual from serving this function. The appointment of a review board, which would hire a staff to assist it in the accomplishment of it's purpose, may be a better approach. This review board would be available to any community person, parent, student, teacher, service employee, principal or staff member who had attempted to use the bureaucratic process, and was unable to receive satisfaction. This board would also have a series of staff members whose functions would be preventing conflicts, determining facts, providing access, and seeking to provide solutions to problems. This would mean the staff would be able to go into schools within the system in order to know what was happening, and to seek to prevent areas of conflict and concentration from being dysfunctional within the system.

Description of formal operation.—A three man board could be appointed from one of the following manners:

1. Appointment by the chief of state, educational officer.

2. Appointment by the chief of a local political officer.

3. Appointment by the local school board of one member, superintendent, one member, and either local or state political officer, one member.

4. Direct election in the community.

This review board might have a staff at the ratio of approximately one full-time professional, member per 300 full-time equivalent teaching units. This would provide sufficient personnel to allow both the investigative and preventive functions to be accomplished. The staff members would be under the direct control of the board, and would report directly to them. The review board would maintain a central office function in order to be available to persons within the system and within the community served by the system. This board should have access to information within the school system itself in order to provide this information to those requesting said information. This board is similar in function to the police review boards although substantially different in its emphasis upon the preventive aspect. At least one member of the board should have legal training and experience. The board would have the responsibility for mediation and interpretation between individuals and groups within the system, and between the system and parts of the system and the environment. When necessary they would need to have some arbitration authority in order to make a final determination. They should also be responsible for the interpretation of rules, policies and regulations of the school district.

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CHAPTER VI

CONSEQUENTIAL ANALYSIS

Urban school districts are under indictment from many political groups in the urban setting for their operation, for their educational programs, for the quality of their graduates, and for the number of dropouts. Education is the concern of national and state political leaders as well as groups of citizens who feel they have been disenfranchised in the educational decision process. New York and Michigan legislatures have recently mandated respectively that the school districts of New York City and Detroit be decentralized, and have passed bills setting guidelines which, in large measure, will determine the type and amount of decentralization. Leaders in the New York and Detroit school districts have expressed their fear that education of children has been overlooked in both of these legislative mandates, and that decentralization cannot assure the improvement of educational opportunity or achievement and may well impede both.

Educators have not developed a set of criteria to use in evaluating the organizational models of urban school districts. There is no set of common goals and values to determine what the model should achieve. This makes the organizational pattern particularly vulnerable to those who do have a set of goals which they wish to see achieved. An organizational model does not insure the attainment of any educational or social objective, but can only facilitate or hinder their attainment, at best. Urban school districts must first determine the objectives for their educational program, and then examine their existing pattern of organization to see how it facilitates or hinders the attainment of these objectives. The next step would be to consider possible organizational alternatives which would facilitate the attainment of the higher priority objectives with a concurrent loss of the least number of second priority objectives. Each of the alternative models described in this paper would facilitate the attainment of certain objectives and probably reduce the possibility of attaining certain other objectives. Unless the school district develops a frame of reference within which to operate and to examine change, a change to a new organizational pattern may produce dysfunctional results for organization and education.

Recent criticism concerning urban schools and urban education has focused upon several issues: Equal educational opportunity, community participation and/or control, professional participation, equality and adequacy of the financial base, change and innovation, the failure of a school system to educate effectively black and culturally deprived students, and the desire of community groups to have a veto power over certain professional decisions.

Two approaches to analyze the organizational models presented in this paper are developed in this section. First, evaluative criteria based on the statements of literature and the consultants who participated in the development of the models will be described and used to compare each of the existing models. Secondly, the results of using the Delphi Technique for predicting future activities and events will be presented. This discussion provides the perceptions of practicing large district superintendents and chief state school officers. This group is engaged in the ongoing operation of public school systems, and may be considered as an expert group which has initmate knowledge of what is happening to urban school organizations, and what may be happening in the future.

Evaluative Criteria

Eleven evaluative criteria were used for analyzing the alternative models for organizing urban school districts in this paper. These criteria were:

1. Extent of opportunity for securing and utilizing human resources for the attaining of educational objectives.
2. Extent of organizational provision for providing the maximum opportunity for pupil development in his social-environmental setting.
3. Extent of equality of financial base.
4. Extent of organizational provisions for breadth of educational program offerings for which credit is recorded.
5. Extent of organizational provisions for breadth of noncredit and social service offerings.
6. Extent of opportunity for optimum facility utilization.
7. Extent of organizational provisions for participation in governance by:

a. Students (secondary)

b. Faculty and staff members.

c. School and regional administrations.

d. Central administration of district.

e. Local community and parents.

f. Governing authority of district.

8. Extent of organizational provisions for long-range planning and evaluation.

9. Extent of organizational provisions for change and innovation at the school level.

10. Extent of opportunity for developing a heterogenous student body and faculty.

11. Extent of ease of implementation.

Each of the models in the paper was rated as high (H), medium (M), or low (L), to describe the extent to which, in the judgment of the staff, the model might facilitate the accomplishment of the specific evaluative criterion. These judgments were purely subjective, speculative, and subject to error. There is no model discussed which rated high in every criteria. None of the models rated low in all of the criteria. In evaluating a specific model, the criteria for evaluation must be ranked according to priority so that the high priority items should be rated high, and the low priority items rated M or L. The alternative models are analyzed by the criteria in Table 6-1.

The first six of the criteria relate to financial, material, and human resources and their application to the educational program. Evaluative criteria seven through ten relate to the organizational structure and the organizational arrangement for the operation and governance of the school system. Item number eleven describes the ease with which the model could be implemented. The ratings given in Table 6-1 are discussed in the following sections of this report.

Evaluative Criterion No. 1: Extent of Opportunity for Securing and Utilizing Human Resources for the Attaining of Educational Objectives

The size of the operating school district is closely correlated to the facilitation of this evaluative criterion.

TABLE 6-1

Evaluation of Organizational Models

Evaluative Criteria	Unified City or County	Unified City and County	State I	State RESA	CCRC	MESA	Service Decentralization	Regional Decentralization	Feeder Decentralization	Community Control	Federal	Egalitarian
1. Extent of opportunity for securing and utilizing human resources for the attaining of educational objectives.	M	H	H	H	H	H	M	M	M	L	H	H
2. Extent of organizational provision for providing the maximum opportunity for pupil development in his social-environmental setting.	M	M	M	M	H	M	M	M	M	H	M	M
3. Extent of equality of financial base.	M	H	H	H	H	H	M	M	M	L	M	M
4. Extent of organizational provisions for breadth of credit educational program offerings for which credit is recorded.	M	H	H	H	H	M	M	M	M	L	M	M
5. Extent of organizational provisions for breadth of non-credit and social service offerings.	M	H	H	H	H	H	M	M	M	L	M	M
6. Extent of opportunity for optimum facility utilization.	M	M	M	M	H	M	M	M	M	H	H	H

H = High; M = Medium; L = Low

TABLE 6-1—*Continued*

Evaluative Criteria	Unified City or County	Unified City and County	State I	State RESA	CCRC	MESA	Service Decentralization	Regional Decentralization	Feeder Decentralization	Community Control	Federal	Egalitarian
7. Extent of organizational provisions for participation in governance by:												
(a) students (secondary)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	H	H
(b) faculty and staff members	M	L	L	M	L	M	M	M	M	M	H	H
(c) school and regional administrations	M	L	L	M	L	M	M	H	H	H	H	H
(d) central administration of district	M	H	H	M	H	M	H	M	M	M	M	M
(e) local community and parents	M	L	L	M	M	M	L	M	H	H	H	H
(f) governing authority of district	H	H	H	M	H	H	H	M	M	M	M	M
8. Extent of organizational provisions for long-range planning and evaluation.	M	H	H	H	H	H	M	M	M	L	H	H
9. Extent of organizational provisions for change and innovation at the school level	L	L	L	M	M	M	M	M	M	H	H	H
10. Extent of opportunity for developing an heterogenous student body and faculty.	M	H	H	M	M	M	M	M	L	L	M	M
11. Extent of ease of implementation.	H	H	L	M	L	H	H	M	M	L	L	L

A district must be large enough to: (1) support a personnel division that can seek qualified prospective personnel; (2) have the breadth and depth of educational offerings that will enable each teacher to perform at his optimum level; and (3) have comprehensive programs for evaluation, inservice education, and professional promotion.

The district must have adequate financial resources to enable it to attract and hold the best personnel possible.

The community control district which operates its own educational program would not have sufficient size to rate high on this criterion. Part of this disadvantage might be overcome through the philosophical and value orientation often found in community control. The state RESA model, MESA, and unified city and county models are rated high because the size of the district would facilitate wide utilization of human resources. The size of the district would enable it to have the most effective promotion programs, and to have a wide range of opportunities for utilization of the human resources. The egalitarian and federal models are rated high because the organizational arrangement is designed to encourage the maximum effective participation by organizational participants at each level of the organization. This means that better trained and dedicated teachers and administrators will be attracted because they can have an effective input in a decision-making process of the school district.

Evaluative Criterion No. 2: Extent of Organizational Provision for Providing the Maximum Opportunity for Pupil Development in His Social-Environmental Setting

The child does not live his life in the school classroom. The home and family environment contribute significantly to the child's educational readiness. A social interaction with his peers and those in the surrounding areas affect not only his readiness but his desire for education. The need for food, clothing, medical care, dental care or emotional security all detract from his educational readiness. Though many of these needs are met in part by various social agencies, the need to coordinate their efforts in order to improve the results for the individual pupil is recognized in many urban school districts.

Only two of the alternative models are rated high on this criterion and for different reasons. The Coordinated Community Resources Corporation (CCRC) model is rated high because all of the social service, education, and welfare organizations are organically combined in the same organization, and the operational program for these districts is carried on at or near the school site. This means that the resources are immediately available to meet the needs of pupils, parents and the community.

The community control model is rated high because of the intense local community participation in the governance of the school district, and therefore, the people would be personally aware of the social environmental setting and would seek to have the educational program reflect this knowledge and to meet the needs of the pupils.

Evaluative Criterion No. 3: Extent of Equality of Financial Base

The reliance on a local property tax as the main component for educational financing has created serious inequities in the educational opportunities available to the students or urban school districts. Examples of variation in assessed per pupil evaluation of ten to twelve times, in adjacent districts, are not common. To use larger metropolitan areas as a finance base will provide greater equality than the unified districts. Yet, there are significant variations in the metropolitan regions of a state. Total state financing of education and a concurrent elimination of the local property tax will provide greater equality than the unified districts. Federal revenue sharing funds could be distributed to help equalize the educational resources between states.

The smaller the area served by a school district from which it draws its financing, the greater the inequality of financial base. If a community control district were to rely on the area served for a significant portion of it's educational financing, it would rate very low in equality of financial base. Some community control advocates, however, suggest collecting of the tax funds on a metropolitan base and distributing the funds, without significant educational controls, to a community control district for operational purposes.

Evaluative Criterion No. 4: Extent of Organizational Provisions for Breadth of Credit Educational Program Offerings for Which Credit is Recorded

Four of the models discussed in the paper were rated high in this criterion. The size of the units is the main reason for the rating. Districts above 30,000 pupils are able to offer significant numbers of indepth courses within a discipline sequence, and offer a wider range of credit program offerings. The community control model, with 5,000 pupils would not have sufficient pupils to offer the range or depth of educational programs needed to meet the variation in pupil needs and abilities.

Evaluative Criterion No. 5: Extent of Organizational Provisions for Breadth of Noncredit and Social Service Offerings

Size again is a major determining factor in the extent of educational noncredit and social service program offerings that a district can provide. A large district with a larger range of student needs, will have a significant number of pupils interested in these offerings. The small districts of less than 5,000 pupils would not have sufficient pupils needing individual programs to economically offer them.

The CCRC Model, due to it's close connection with other social service agencies would rate extremely high in ability to provide the breadth of noncredit and social service offerings that the people need and desire.

Evaluative Criterion No. 6: Extent of Opportunity for Optimum Facility Utilization

The CCRC Model, due to the multiple organizations that will be using the facilities, would provide the highest level of facility utilization. For example: the medical and dental clinics would be located in school facilities. The library facilities would be open to the community. The parks or playground areas would be used during school time for the school functions. Before and after school, they would be used for community needs and functions. The classroom would be available for community activities of an educational and a social nature. The community control, federal, and egalitarian models all have high utilization of facilities due to the maximum involvement that these models afford for community participation in the decision process. Parents and others within the community would have an opportunity to express organizationally, their desires for utilization. By having a voice in its control, the school center would be able to effectively provide the services that they desire.

Evaluative Criterion No. 7: Extent of Organizational Provisions for Participation and Governance

Only the federal and egalitarian models allow for direct student participation in the governance procedures, and this only at the secondary level. Only these two models provide for direct faculty and staff participation in the governance procedure. This means that the other models, while they may provide for advisory or information input to the decision process, do not directly involve students, faculty, or staff members in the decision process in a significant manner.

The federal egalitarian, community control, feeder decentralization, and regional decentralization models have a high stress on the involvement of school and regional administrators in the decision process. These people are involved, either through administrative decentralization or through organizational structures that provide for their participation, in the ultimate decision process. The unified city and county, state I, CCRC, and MESA models are high in the amount of participation by central administration of the school districts in the decision process. These models are large, complex bureaucracies and in the nature of the decision process much of the final authority will be in the central administration. Feeder decentralization, community control, federal, and egalitarian models provide high authority to the local community and parents for their participation in the decision process. The size of the units increases this in the feeder decentralization and community control models whereas the organizational structure provides this in the federal and egalitarian models.

The governing authority, or board, of the large districts would have high participation in governance due to the size of the organization and the centralized nature of the decision process.

Evaluative Criterion No. 8: Extent of Organizational Provisions for Long-Range Planning and Evaluation

The two pluralistic models, federal and egalitarian, have a built-in process that involves opportunity for long-range planning and continuous evaluation both on the school and the central administrative level. The experience of large school districts and their ability to use funds in a diverse manner have enabled most of them to develop a separate component of the organizational structure for long-range planning and for continuous evaluation. This is normally found in the research division. The tremendous pressure on urban school districts to meet immediate needs and to react quickly makes the necessity of long-range planning, so that action can be based on the context of the future, all the more crucial.

Evaluative Criterion No. 9: Extent of Organizational Provisions for Change and Innovation at the School Level

The larger units do not have an organizational provision for change and innovation at the school level. Research in educational administration tends to show that size is an inhibiting factor upon the perception of those at the school level.

The community control models, due to their lack of complexity and size, and the pluralistic models, due to their organizational structure, would significantly encourage innovation and change at the local school level. In the community control models, this change might not be congruent with change in other adjacent districts. Due to the large number of school districts in an urban setting when organized on a community control basis, experiments would be overlapping and knowledge and information might be difficult to communicate from one district to the other.

There are some research data showing that even in the large organizations change and innovation can take place through the availability of funds for special uses. The federal funds for education, especially Title III of ESEA, are a significant example of how change and innovation can take place at a school or school district level, even with centralized funding.

Evaluative Criterion No. 10: Extent of Opportunity for Developing a Heterogenous Student Body and Faculty

The community control and feeder decentralization models, due to the fact that they serve approximately 5,000 pupils within an urban setting, would rate very low in the ability to develop any significant amount of heterogeneity. Due to the location of the schools, and their service to the surrounding homes, the people will be basically of a similar socioeconomic, racial, and cultural background.

The unified city, county, and the state I model would allow for the greatest amount of heterogeneity, and this would have to be accomplished primarily through bussing, location of schools, and open housing patterns rather than within the context of the neighborhood school.

Evaluative Criterion No. 11: Extent of Ease of Implementation

The unified districts, MESA, and service decentralization models, would have the highest ease of implementation. They would probably face the least amount of political and economic opposition. Since examples of these models are in operation, there would be little difficulty in understanding them. The State I Model, although it is operational in Hawaii, would face severe opposition from the community control advocates, from the professional educators, and from parents and citizens who feel they would have even less participation in the governance of schools.

The CCRC model would face strong opposition in implementation due to the fact that many citizens would see this as socialistic, if not communistic. Professionals in the health, education, and welfare areas would have important reservations about the arrangement. Many people are suspicious and fearful of size and complexity of organization, and this would be a sizable and very complex organizational arrangement. This model could be implemented on a partial basis, by increasing the amount of coordination and cooperation with the existing agencies. This would take initiative on the part of the officials of local and state government.

The community control model, although much written about and discussed, and although it has been experimentally tried in several districts, faces strong legislative and professional education opposition. This has been evidenced in the legislation passed in both the New York and Michigan legislatures.

The two pluralistic models, federal and egalitarian, will likewise face strong legislative opposition because the legislature would not understand certain aspects of the approach. There would be a tremendous problem in gaining community support because the people usually have not thought in terms other than of a bureaucratic decision-making. The opposition of professional educators would probably be strong, although there are certain facets of the model they would probably prefer.

Delphi Projections

The need to develop techniques that enable decision-makers and educational planners to have some insight into the future developments, has led to the adaptation of the Delphi Technique to education. The Delphi Technique was developed by the Rand Corporation and has since been refined by the Institute for the Future, Middletown, Connecticut, and the Syracuse Educational Policy Research Center, at Syracuse University. The Delphi Technique involves the judgments of persons who have expertise within the area under study and seeks to avoid certain undesirable factors, such as specious persuasion, unwillingness to abandon publicly expressed opinions, and the bandwagon effect of majority opinion (Dalkey and Helmer, 1963). The Delphi Technique helps to avoid these difficulties because it is carried on through a series of questionnaires, which enable the experts to exchange opinions anonymously, to have feedback on the opinions of others, and present the possibility of revising the estimates. The Delphi Technique has been used to forecast technological and scientific developments, and their societal consequences (Gordon and Ament, 1969), development of long-range forecasting methods for Connecticut (Helmer et al., 1969), clarifying and setting priority of an intermediate school district objectives (Anderson, 1970), forecasting future developments in education in Utah (Jacobson, 1970), and soliciting quiet consensus regarding goals of a school of education (Cyphert, 1970).

The Delphi Technique has proved useful for forecasting of long-range expectations in several areas. Although the Delphi Technique has not been used to forecast possible organization structure or changes in organization structure, the research staff felt that the Delphi Technique would be useful in this area.

Using the literature, the consultants from organizational theory areas, and the superintendents of the districts that participated in the studies described earlier in the paper, fifty statements were compiled describing possible organizational developments. These statements were then edited for clarity and understanding and a field test was conducted using doctoral students at the University of Florida, who had had experience in educational administration in large school districts. These students were asked to complete the questionnaire and to comment on their understanding of the questions and the instructions accompanying the questionnaire. A second test was conducted in a large urban school district among principals and central office administrators. The results of these two tests eliminated twenty-three of the fifty items as being ambiguous, irrelevant or of little consequence. Twenty-two of the 27 remaining items related directly to specific organizational models presented in this paper. The research staff felt that the forecasts of the chief state school officers and the large school district superintendents would provide a means of determining the reality and possibility of implementation of the models. Two of the items remaining dealt with financing education on a state and federal level, which had implications for organizational structure. Two of the items dealt with the reorganization of the role of the superintendent, which has implications for organizational models for urban school districts, and the 27th item concerned the use of advisory boards for school districts in urban settings. See appendixes G, H, and I for materials and questionnaires used in the Delphi study.

Two panels of experts were arranged. One panel was composed of chief state school officers or a designated representative of the chief state school officer. Eighteen states agreed to participate in completing all three of the questionnaires involved in the Delphi Technique. These states include: California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas.

A second panel composed of superintendents of large school districts or their appointed representatives included the following:

Albuquerque, New Mexico
Garden Grove, California
Phoenix, Arizona
Fresno City, California
Portland, Oregon
Seattle, Washington
Denver, Colorado
Jefferson County, Colorado
Prince George County, Maryland
Baltimore County, Maryland
Montgomery County, Maryland
Birmingham, Alabama
El Paso, Texas
Mobile County, Alabama
Duval County, Florida
Polk County, Florida
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Decatur, Georgia
Hillsboro County, Florida
Pinellas County, Florida
Charlotte, North Carolina
Flint, Michigan
Cleveland, Ohio
Toledo, Ohio
Columbus, Ohio

All of these school districts have 50,000 or more pupils, and were willing to give the time necessary to complete the questionnaires.

Each questionnaire probably required in excess of an hour and a half time to complete. The first questionnaire administered (Questionnaire I) contained the 27 items, and the participants were asked to enter their estimates as to the date that this event will occur. They were also asked to enter their judgment as to the desirability of this event on a seven point scale (plus three to minus three). They were asked to enter their judgment as to the impact of a particular item on the quality of education on a four point scale from zero to three (see Appendix G).

On the second questionnaire administered (Questionnaire II) they were given the panel consensus (the interquartile range) on Questionnaire I. They were also given their previous 50 percent date and asked to make another estimate as to when the event would occur, if ever. If their second estimate was earlier or later than the panel consensus, they were asked to state the reasons briefly (see Appendix H).

The third questionnaire administered (Questionnaire III) consisted of two parts. Questionnaire IIIA gave the panel consensus on Questionnaire II, along with the reasons for the early and later dates. Each participant was given his previous 50 percent estimate, and was then asked to make his final estimate as to the date this event would occur with 50 percent probability of occurrence. The second part of Questionnaire III consisted of ten items, which were judged by the panel on questionnaire I to be of high impact on the quality of education by the panel. They were given the item, the panel judgment, and then were asked "if these were to occur some results might be." They were also asked to list strategies for hastening the desirable developments and for delaying the undesirable developments (see Appendix I).

Analysis of Delphi Data

The 27 items on Questionnaire I are listed below:

1. Education will be administered by state governments with the concurrent elimination of the existing local school districts in at least five states.

2. Education in the metropolitan areas (within a state) will have a single taxing and financing district and multiple operating districts in at least five metropolitan areas.

3. Representatives elected by teacher organizations will serve as full members of local urban school boards in at least five urban school districts.

4. School districts will have a separate full-time division devoting itself to communication, coordination and cooperation with the community served

by the school system in at least five urban school districts.

5. Administrative decentralization in at least five urban school districts will be through the technique of decentralizing to regional superintendents or by transferring additional administrative responsibility to school principals.

6. Community controlled educational districts of less than 10,000 pupils will be the organizational pattern in at least five metropolitan areas.

7. State and Federal governments will supply the total school budget from nonlocal tax sources (elimination of local property tax) in at least five states.

8. Federal and state governments will supply the minimum operating budget for education and local property taxes will supply additional funds for education (less than 25 percent of total budget) in at least five states.

9. Urban school districts will have two superintendents in at least five urban school districts. One will be responsible for the educational program and the other superintendent will be responsible for administration.

10. Health, educational, welfare and social and employment agencies of the metropolitan area will be combined into a single administrative organization in at least five metropolitan areas.

11. The judicial function of the school board will be eliminated and the function transferred to a separate board in at least five urban school districts.

12. Educational parks will be a typical pattern of school organization and decentralization in at least five urban school systems.

13. Local school advisory councils will function in at least five urban school districts in policy and program areas of decision-making.

14. Educational professionals (teachers and administrators) will recommend and the school board will elect urban superintendents *only* from their recommendations in at least five urban school systems.

15. The internal organizational structure of at least five urban school systems will be designed on the basis of PPBS.

16. Students in secondary schools will participate in policy and program areas of decision-making in at least five urban school systems at the system level.

17. Decentralization of Administrative responsibility will be in regions composed of a high school and its feeder schools in at least five urban school systems.

18. Education will be financed by state governments with local school districts having educational and operational control.

19. At least five metropolitan areas will see the independent operating school districts unified into metropolitan educational districts serving urban, suburban, and fringe areas.

20. Teacher association organizations will, in at least five states, negotiate on the state level rather than on the local school district level for salaries and working conditions.

21. Medical, social, welfare, employment and recreational services will be provided at school site centers in at least five urban school systems.

22. At least five urban school systems will be organized to provide metropolitan tax base and smaller operating school districts thereby gaining the advantages of the small system.

23. Decentralization in at least five urban school systems will be service and curriculum decentralization without concurrent administrative decentralization.

24. Decentralization districts in at least five urban school systems will have boards with legal (rather than advisory) authority.

25. Most (51 percent) urban school systems will have an assistant to the superintendent who will have no line duties but who will function as a by-pass person for members of the school system and of the community to gain information and access.

26. The role of the system superintendent will become that of an administrator and implementor rather than the chief educational or curriculum leader in at least five urban school districts.

27. School districts will have a separate full-time division devoting itself to communication, coordination and information system within the district in at least five urban school districts.

The initial forecasts on Questionnaire I (see Appendix G) are indicated in Figure 6-1. The polygons are used to depict range of opinions generated by the two panels. The high part of the bar indicates the median date on which the panel has judged that there was a 50 percent chance the event would occur. The shorter legs of the polygon define the limits of the upper and lower quartiles and the bar itself denotes the interquartile range.

The reader can easily see that on approximately half of the items a fairly narrow range developed, indicating general consensus among the two panels. It was decided to keep all of the items, even those on which a consensus was developed on Questionnaire I, through all of the Delphi Process. This proved to be desirable as both chief state school officers and large district superintendents or their representatives had a remarkable tendency to change their opinions as to when certain items would happen, especially when they saw their fellow superintendent's opinions.

The two panels also indicated their opinions of the desirability and the impact of each of the twenty-seven items. The desirability of each of the items was judged on a seven point scale from plus three through zero, to minus three. The impact of each of the items on the quality of education which is on a four point scale from zero to plus three. In Table 6-2, the results of the desirability and impact as rated by the panel members on Questionnaire I are shown. There was fairly general consensus except on items six, nine, and eighteen. Items two, three, four, five, six, seven, and nineteen rated the highest in impact, and these were selected for use on Questionnaire III later. Items one, eleven and fourteen were given a negative desirability by both groups of experts, and it was decided to include these on the final questionnaire.

Both groups of superintendents see item six (or community control) as having high impact. The superintendents from urban districts rated it as undesirable while the chief state school officers rated it as slightly desirable. The ninth item, was also rated as highly undesirable by the

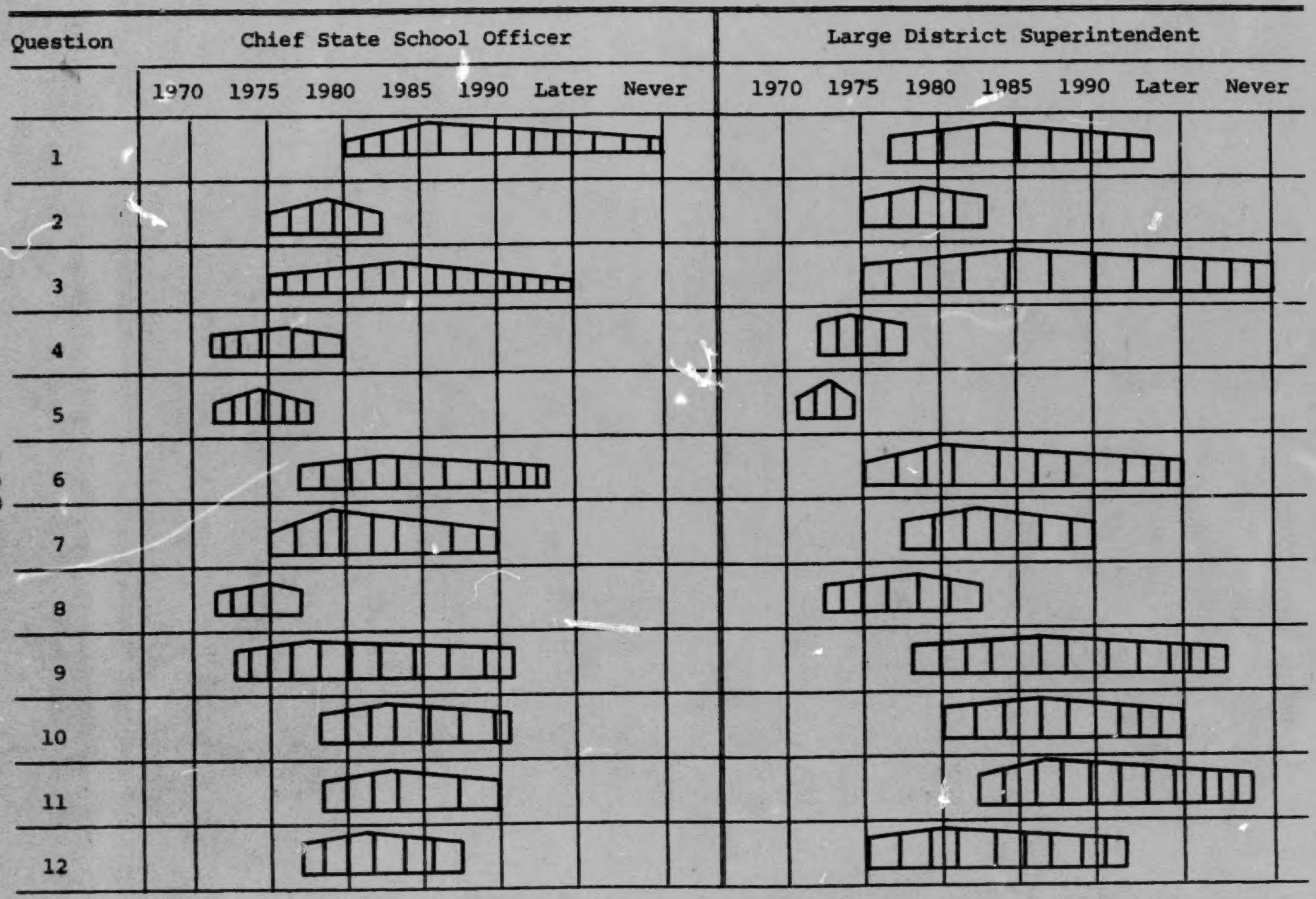

Figure 6-1—Initial Delphi forecasts.

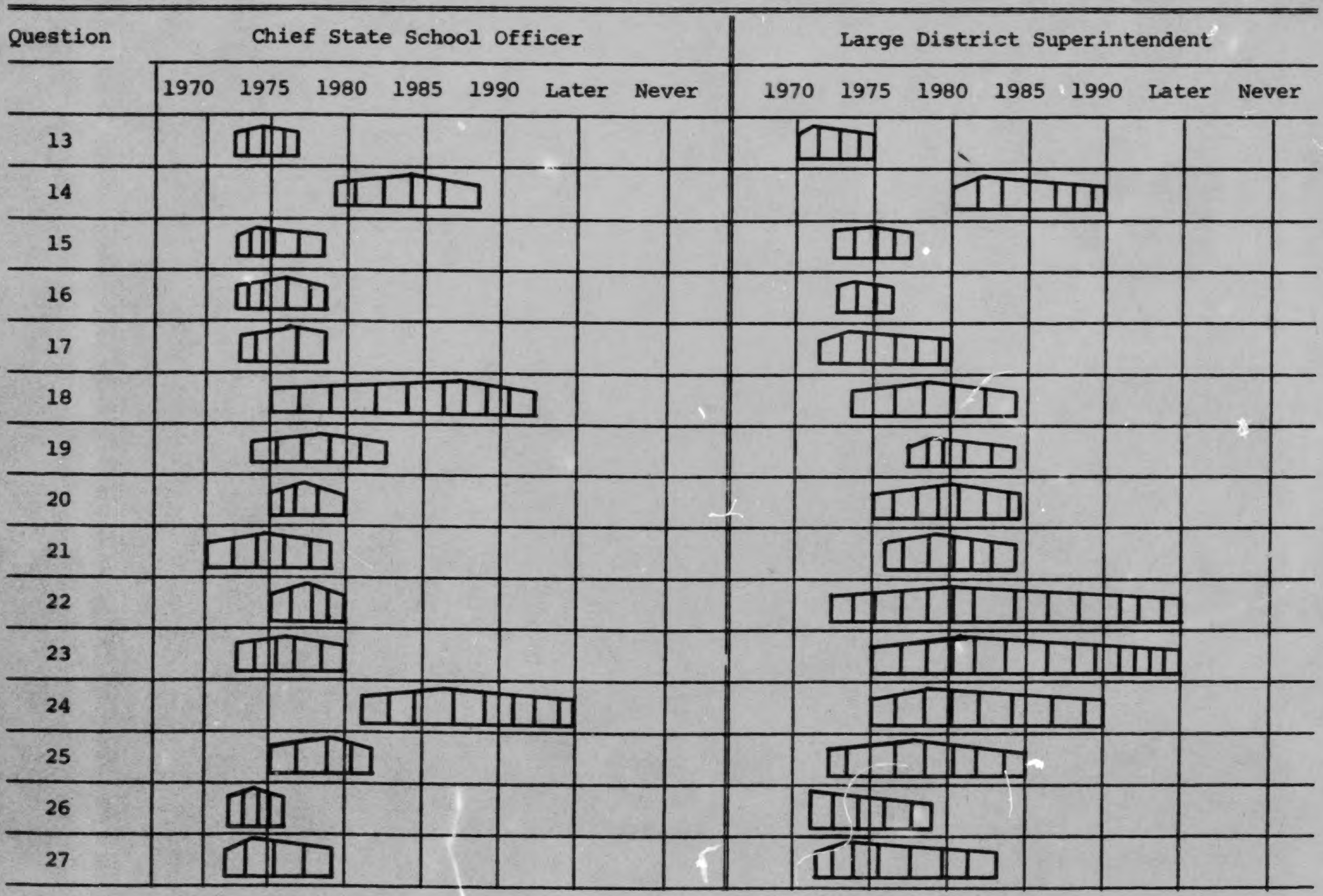

Figure 6-1—*Continued*

TABLE 6-2

Desirability and Impact of Organizational Characteristics

	Desirability		Impact	
Question	Chief State School Officer	Large District Superintendent	Chief State School Officer	Large District Superintendent
1	- 8	-24	33	36
2	29	41	39	44
3	-18	-36	39	44
4	45	58	42	64
5	37	59	41	48
6	22	- 8	44	43
7	20	16	38	48
8	35	41	37	39
9	7	-32	21	32
10	14	15	28	41
11	- 3	-24	21	10
12	15	13	23	36
13	37	37	36	35
14	-15	-26	30	14
15	31	46	34	46
16	21	42	25	33
17	21	25	32	42
18	- 6	22	33	40
19	37	41	38	45
20	0	9	15	32
21	23	49	26	40
22	14	34	30	45
23	4	5	24	22
24	- 5	- 3	19	24
25	31	21	30	24
26	32	6	36	33
27	39	38	36	40

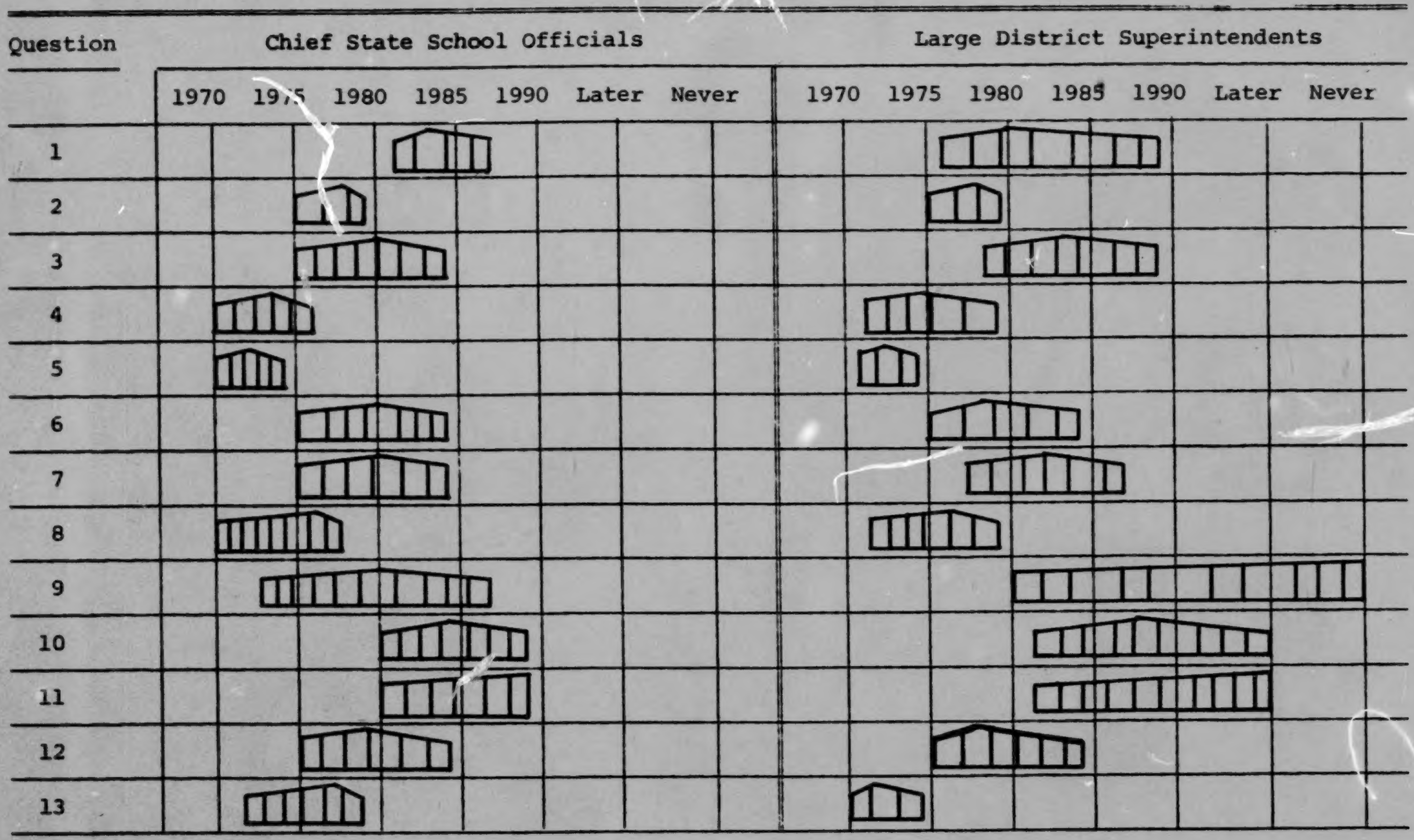

Figure 6-2—Final Delphi forecasts.

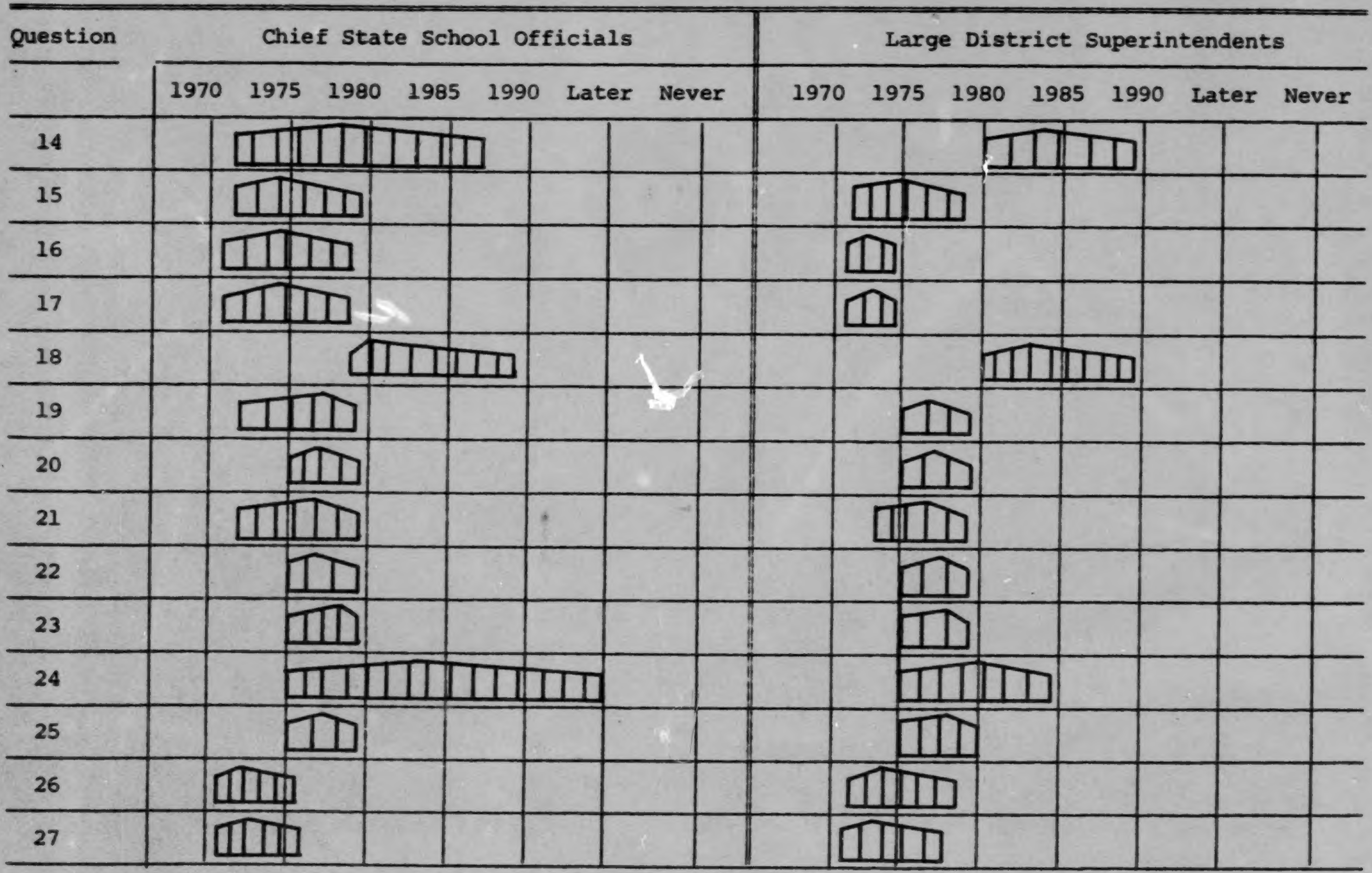

Figure 6-2—*Continued*

district superintendents and slightly desirable by the chief state school officers. This item described the development of two superintendents for single district—one responsible for the educational program and the other for administration. Item eighteen was raised by the chief state school officers as undesirable, and as slightly desirable by the large district superintendents. This item described education as having total state financing, and local school districts having educational and operational control. The chief state school officers preferred to keep control with the money.

The results of Questionnaire II are not included, as they were intermediate results, and were not significantly different from either Figure 6-1 or Figure 6-2. In Figure 6-2, the final forecasts by the panel of chief state school officers and the panel of large district superintendents are presented. The polygons are used to depict the final range of opinions. The high point on the bar indicates the median date on which the panelists judge there was a 50 percent chance that the events would occur. The shorter legs of the polygon define the limits of the upper and lower quartile and the bar itself the interquartile range. It was easy to see the difference between the initial and the final forecasts, especially as the range for most items was decreased significantly. The same results on Questionnaire III along with additional descriptions are included in Table 6-3. The median date, interquartile range and total range for each of the items is given for both panel groups in Table 6-3.

The projections of the two groups of panelists show the chief state school officer as having an earlier median date on fifteen items, the district superintendents an earlier median date on nine items, and the two groups being the same on three items. The total range, as described in Table 6-3, is normally not significant, as there were one or two panelists who preferred to stay to the extremes even on Questionnaire III. The total range is of major significance in items four, five, eight, thirteen, sixteen, seventeen, nineteen, twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-five, and twenty-seven, where the range given by the panelists is relatively narrow, and the interquartile range even narrower.

The comments of the panel concerning the consequences of the adoption in practice of the ten developments of high impact are listed in Appendix J. The panelists were also asked to indicate strategies for hastening the desirable and delaying the undesirable developments. Their statements in response to strategies are given in Appendix K.

Discussion of the Results of Delphi Questionnaires

The items of the Delphi Questionnaire related to one of the models described earlier in the paper. Each of the models, therefore, had from two to eight projections as to when it would take place and the desirability of the particular alternative. Data relative to this analysis are shown in Table 6-4.

Items consistent with the two pluralistic models received six undesirable ratings out of a possible eight, and except for a limited nature of pluralism in item 16, the superintendents felt that, at best, it would be the middle of the 1980s before pluralism began to appear in five districts. Community control models received three undesirable ratings, out of a possible four, although both panels felt that community control was a possibility for the early 1980s. The items relating to state models and state control received three undesirable ratings, out of eight, and the superintendents indicated that it would be into the early eighty's before they would be implemented. The panel indicated that state level negotiation of teacher organizations would take place during the middle of the 1970s. The only other undesirable rating was given to the division of the role of the superintendent into two superintendents; one for instruction and one for administration in item nine. This had the latest date of implementation on the district superintendent's questionnaires. It is interesting to note, that these same superintendents feel that the role of the school district superintendent will change by the early or middle 1970s, to where the superintendent will become an administrator and implementor or facilitator rather than the chief education or curriculum leader in several school districts. This indicates that they see the educational and instructional function of the superintendent's office being delegated to a second level person in the school system, rather than having two co-equal heads for the district. All of the other models had predictions of early implementation in the 1970s.

Regional decentralization already exists in more than five of the participating districts, and the two panels predicted that it had taken place or would in the immediate future. They also predicted (using items four, twenty-five, and twenty-seven) that a separate full-time division devoting itself to communication, coordination, and cooperation with communities served by the school and within the school district itself would be developed. This is the internal system spanning unit described in Chapter V. Such a system that has both external and internal communication and information input functions was not found in the urban districts studied. The panelists also felt that program planning and

TABLE 6-3

Final Delphi Forecasts

	Chief State School			Large District Superintendent		
Question	Range	Inter-quartile Range	Median	Range	Inter-quartile Range	Median
1	1972-L	1982-87	1983	1971-N	1977-89	1980
2	1971-L	1975-79	1978	1970-89	1975-89	1978
3	1970-L	1975-84	1980	1970-N	1978-89	1983
4	1970-79	1970-77	1973	1970-79	1971-79	1975
5	1970-79	1970-74	1972	1970-79	1971-74	1975
6	1970-N	1975-84	1980	1970-N	1975-84	1978
7	1971-L	1975-84	1980	1971-N	1977-87	1983
8	1970-79	1971-78	1978	1970-84	1971-79	1978
9	1971-L	1973-87	1980	1975-N	1980-N	Never
10	1971-N	1980-89	1984	1971-N	1982-L	1988
11	1971-L	1980-89	1986	1971-N	1982-L	Later
12	1971-L	1975-84	1979	1971-N	1975-84	1978
13	1970-84	1972-78	1977	1970-N	1970-74	1972
14	1971-L	1972-87	1978	1975-N	1980-89	1983
15	1970-L	1972-79	1974	1971-79	1971-78	1975
16	1970-79	1971-78	1974	1970-N	1971-74	1973
17	1970-79	1971-78	1974	1970-L	1971-74	1973
18	1971-L	1978-89	1979	1971-N	1980-89	1983
19	1971-84	1972-79	1977	1970-N	1975-79	1976
20	1971-84	1975-79	1977	1971-N	1975-79	1978
21	1971-89	1972-79	1977	1970-N	1973-79	1976
22	1970-89	1975-79	1977	1971-L	1975-79	1978
23	1970-L	1975-79	1978	1970-N	1975-79	1978
24	1970-N	1975-L	1984	1971-N	1975-78	1980
25	1971-89	1975-79	1977	1971-N	1975-79	1978
26	1970-N	1971-76	1972	1970-N	1971-77	1974
27	1970-79	1971-76	1973	1970-79	1971-77	1973

Note: L = Later; N = Never

TABLE 6-4

School Organization Forecast

Alternative Model	Delphi Question Related	Chief State School Officers Median Forecasts	Large District Superintendents Median Forecasts
Unified City/County	19	1977	1976
State I	1	1983	1980
	20	1977	1978
State RESA	18	1979	1983
	20	1977	1978
Instructional Services Decentralization	23	1978	1978
Regional Decentralization	5	1972	1975
Community Control	6	1980	1978
	24	1984	1980
Metropolitan Educational Service Agency (MESA)	2	1978	1978
	22	1976	1978
Coordinated Community Control Corporation (CCRC)	10	1984	1988
	21	1977	1976
Feeder School Decentralization	12	1979	1978
	17	1974	1973
Pluralistic Models	3	1980	1983
	11	1986	Later
	14	1978	1983
	16	1974	1973
Program Planning Budgeting System (PPBS)	15	1974	1975
System Spanning Unit	4	1973	1975
	25	1977	1978
	27	1973	1973
Advisory Boards	13	1977	1972
Role of Superintendent	9	1980	Never
	26	1972	1974

budgeting systems will require modification of their administrative structures, and that this will take place within the next three to four years. Several of the panelists indicated that their district was already considering modification of their structure to use this approach.

It was also important to note that none of the superintendents felt that any single organizational model would, could, or should be adopted nationwide. Several of them indicated a strong feeling that the pluralism of organizational types might be one of the strongest points of the educational system, and one of the most critical things to maintain.

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CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The design of this project included numerous exploratory field studies of urban school organizations and conceptual development activities. The main purpose of the project was to identify and describe alternative ways to organize large, urban school districts. The project staff abandoned the idea that any one ideal model could be developed for all urban school districts in the nation.

As background for the attempted description of alternative ways to organize urban school districts, the staff reviewed the literature, conducted exploratory field studies in large, urban school districts, and conducted similar discussions with selected administrative personnel of urban school systems. The results of the exploratory field studies were discussed in Chapter II and Chapter III. These consisted of analyses of issues and problems, decision-making processes, organizational arrangements for decentralization, organizational conflict, policies for student unrest, teacher militancy, and other conditions of urban school organization. Using the results of these activities and the study of literature as background, the project staff developed alternative "models" to describe how urban school districts are, or might possibly be, organized. Written descriptions were prepared for each alternative model.

These alternative possibilities for organizing urban school districts were conceptually field tested. This process consisted of involving numerous persons in seminar discussions concerning the feasibility of the alternative models. Each model was criticized and appraised. Over 560 persons were involved in this process. Included in this number were school administrators of urban school systems, professors, state department of education personnel, students of educational administration, school board members, and other lay citizens. The models were rewritten several times to include the suggestions of these persons. Some were eliminated as being not worthy of development. The models which were felt to be of interest and have some possibilities were described in Chapters IV and V of this report. Some additional analyses of the models and a discussion of the future developments in school district organization were included in Chapter VI.

The staff for this project emphasizes that the organizational alternatives discussed do not represent all possible ways of organizing urban school districts. For instance, those involved in their development were not inclined to project the adoption of an authority to operate the schools. There was no model included which would remove public control from the schools. While some of the suggested approaches might be described by some observers as radical, the emphasis during the development and field testing was upon the feasibility of the alternatives. The staff did not find during the conceptual field testing process much support for arrangements which would remove public education from public control. Indeed the emphasis appeared to be upon the development of organizational arrangements that would increase public and professional participation in educational decision-making.

Since this project was developmental in nature instead of following a basic research design, this final chapter will not be organized around the classical design of findings, conclusions, and recommendations. To do so would detract from the material presented throughout the report. Some of the findings will be highlighted in the discussion. However, this discussion could most appropriately be termed summary comments of the project staff.

Findings and Implications of the Field Studies of Urban School Districts

In order to provide understanding of educational administration in the urban setting, the project staff directed a number of related studies of large school districts. Studies were conducted to describe a decentralized type organization, its staffing patterns, and selected operational characteristics. Other studies analyzed communication, issues and problems, decision-making, organizational conflict, patterns for dealing with student unrest, and teacher militancy in urban school districts. Included with these analyses was a study of the literature concerning the organization of urban school districts. Some of the significant implications of these studies for urban school district organization are presented in the following paragraphs.

The research conducted by the staff and the literature indicate that there is great concern about the complexity and size of urban school organizations. There are other rather important stresses which reduce organizational effectiveness such as inadequate communication networks, extremes in political issues, inadequately defined processs of participation in school governance, and other conditions detrimental to school administration. In consideration of these factors numerous writers have recommended decentralization. Information collected in this project shows a strong trend toward organizational decentralization among the large urban school districts of the nation. Several models for administrative decentralization were presented and discussed in Chapter IV and Chapter V of this report.

The staff studies of conflict and of organizational behavior in confrontation politics were very interesting. These data demonstrated that most groups opposing the school administration did not achieve any acceptable degree of participation. Their main level of participation was described as "access" which means that their demands were heard but there was little participation of the groups in decision-making. There were some noticeable exceptions in some conflicts studied.

These studies do show that, even though the groups opposing the establishment did not often participate fully in decision-making, they did force important modifications in the organizational structure in a majority of conflicts analyzed. Consequently, the idea often espoused of a giant bureaucracy that gobbles up its enemies at will may not be entirely accurate for all school districts. Even the most rigid of bureaucracies can be modified if enough demand is forthcoming from the public.

On the other hand, the data on organizational conflict demonstrate the tenacity with which urban school bureaucracies resist change. These findings suggest the need to develop organizations for city school systems that are more flexible and responsive to community leaders, parents, students, and other citizens. The new systems should be flexible and, above all, provide for effective participation in the development of goals. There was indication that the goals espoused by administrators in the selected school districts studied were sometimes in conflict with the goals of certain community leaders, teachers, and students. The organization should provide for processes to reduce the intensity of goal conflict among the many groups interested in public education.

The authors believe that the problem is not that conflict exists and should be eliminated but that many conflicts have unreasonable intensity and damage student growth and development. The traditional emphasis upon organizational consensus and smoothness of operation is neither desirable nor possible. The school system will always experience organizational stresses and conflict and properly so. Otherwise, the organizational system may achieve a high degree of conformity but result in a lack of directional thrust. The basic problem for designers of new organizations is to provide means for using conflicts toward positive improvements in pupil growth and development. What kinds of organizations can be developed to use pressures and conflicts as bases for developing quality education?

The new organizational structures should be flexible enough to interact positively to a variety of different conditions. The emphasis today is upon pluralism rather than upon uniformity. Theorists are perceiving students as having different learning styles. The monolithic organization with rigid policies and emphasis upon uniformity cannot possibly fulfill the divergent educational needs existing in the large city and its pluralism of cultural, economic, social, political, and other differences.

The modern organization must be flexible enough to respond to and provide leadership for quality education in numerous subsystems with different cultural backgrounds, interaction patterns, and expectations. This organization should encourage educational leadership which provides thrusts for quality education rather than responses to community pressure. This means that the leadership emphasis will be upon better politics for better schools rather than upon insulation of schools from politics.

Another significant finding of the field studies was the apparent weakness of participation of principals in decision-making in the school systems studied. Through the process of collective negotiations teachers were influencing teacher welfare provisions in some systems. However, even collective action does not assure a wide base of professional participation in the complex process of educational decision-making.

There is considerable basis for believing that the present organizational structures themselves contributed more than should be expected to internal organizational conflict as well as conflicts with elements of the community system. Many of the districts included in the field studies of this project had not adjusted to the rise in teacher militancy. Very serious internal conflicts were apparent in several systems. The communication and feedback systems were faulty to the point of creating serious problems where, under better conditions, problems would not exist. This may well have made teacher feelings of militancy very intense.

Reorganization of School Governance

The staff believes that serious consideration should be given to making some rather significant changes in the organizational structure of urban school districts. Those school districts desiring to work at organizational improvement should find the alternative models briefly described in this report interesting. They should gain some idea of trends among urban school districts and benefit from the speculations of future trends discussed. In thinking through and projecting plans for reorganization, attention should be given to overall purposes, objectives, and desired procedures. The concepts of functional operations models given at the beginning of Chapter V and the evaluative criteria provided in Chapter VI might be useful in the process of evaluating projected organizational structures.

The data considered in this project led the staff to believe that administrative decentralization may not go far enough to cure many of the ills of urban schools. The adoption of an instructional service decentralization model will only complicate matters for some cities. This alteration does not do much to encourage greater participation. Much of the centralized, inflexible, bureaucratic control remains. The processes of communication may even be complicated. Consequently, the data from field studies in this project and from the literature suggest that some urban school districts should make a complete break with the past and experiment with pluralistic organizations. Several approaches to developing pluralistic-type organizations were discussed in Chapter V of this report.

For those cities that do not wish to vary so radically from the past, the Metropolitan Education Service Agency model (see Chapter V) might be employed to reduce the size of operational districts and retain advantages of centralization. Another departure would be to abandon centralization entirely and adopt a community control model (see Chapter IV).

One is hard pressed to determine whether the adoption of some of the suggested alternative models would represent a "cop-out" or a sincere desire to improve city school systems. For example, one frequently hears recommendations that the states abolish local school districts and assume the direct administration of schools. These appear to come from frustrations with the financing of education rather than from concerns with local organizational effectiveness to improve student growth and development. One must consider what complete state control of administration would do to relieve the organizational stresses now experienced in the cities. Nevertheless, state models represent an alternative to the way education is organized in all but one of the states. Consequently, two illustrative approaches to the state administration of education are given in Chapters IV and V.

Summary Recommendation

Many writers have concluded that the organizations of most large school districts are not satisfactory. There is need for developing organizational effectiveness. However, there is much distance between the recognition of organizational ineffectiveness and achieving satisfactory administrative systems. The staff believes that large urban school organizations cannot be satisfactorily restructured until and unless resources are made available to those districts for the development and trial of new approaches.

There has always been a popular myth in education that innovation and change can be accomplished without additional resources. This has never been a viable perception in most innovations. To accomplish reorganization in the large urban districts as opposed to questionable tinkering procedures will require large expenditures of resources for study and analysis, consultative assistance, inservice training, trial of new staff positions, costs of implementing technical aids, and other investments. Most large cities feel compelled to use their limited resources for maintaining present operations rather than for significant speculative development of innovations in organization. Some persons are describing the great cities as "broke" and as about to become wards of the state. Thus, either the state or federal governments, or both, may have to provide considerable funds specifically designated for the reorganization of school systems.

The staff recommends that the federal and state authorities give immediate attention to providing monies specifically designated for the trial of different organizational models in school districts. While priorities should be given to the use of these funds for large, urban (inner city) school districts, a portion of the program could be for the reorganization of small and medium size districts and to states in the event feasibility studies and implementation procedures are projected for a state model. The staff also believes that large amounts of money should be provided for basic research and the development of better organizational theories.

If these recommended developmental and research resources are not made available, there will be a tendency to continue making minor repairs and adjustments to presently existing organizational arrangements rather than produce significant changes to improve education.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE I—STUDIES OF DECISION-MAKING

As part of our field work at the University of Florida we are making a study of large urban school systems. Some information is needed from the persons who are in these systems, and are actively engaged in the processes within them. Your assistance will be of great help in this study.

Your name was chosen from a random sample of the faculty and staff members.

All information given will be kept *completely confidential.* True names are never used in the final report, nor are your personal opinions repeated to anyone else. We would appreciate your cooperation and frank opinions.

1. How long have you lived in ____________________?
2. Age: 20 - 29 __________ 50 - 59 __________
   30 - 39 __________ 60 +
   40 - 49 __________
3. Sex: M ________ F __________
4. Occupation ______________________________
   Job Title ______________________________
5. Years in this position ______________
6. Years in this school system ___________
7. Of what organization are you a member?
   a. Civic ______________________________
   b. Religious ____________________________
   c. Professional __________________________
   d. Social ______________________________

e. Fraternal ________________________________

f. Other ________________________________

8. What do you consider to be the most significant issues or critical decisions which have confronted your school system during the past three years?

a. Issue: ________________________________

Influentials:

Comments:

b. Issue: ________________________________

Influentials:

Comments:

c. Issue: ________________________________

Influentials:

Comments:

d. Issue: ________________________________

Influentials:

Comments:

e. Issue: ________________________________

Influentials:

Comments:

9. Name the persons who were most influential in guiding the issue or critical decisions and describe how they worked.

10. Are there any persons whom you regard as influential in the school system who have not been mentioned in connection with the above issues or decisions? If so, please name them and their job.

11. What formal or informal groups are important in influencing action taken in the school system?

12. What organizations, groups or persons outside of school personnel are or have been important in influencing the actions of the school system?

13. What do you consider to be the most significant issues or critical decisions which have confronted your school or department during the past three years?

    a. Issue: ______________________________

       Influentials:

       Comments:

    b. Issue: ______________________________

       Influentials:

       Comments:

    c. Issue: ______________________________

       Influentials:

       Comments:

    d. Issue: ______________________________

       Influentials:

       Comments:

    e. Issue: ______________________________

Influentials:

Comments:

14. Name the persons who were most influential in guiding the issue or critical decisions and describe how they worked.

15. Are there any persons whom you regard as influential in your school or department who have not been mentioned in connection with the above issues or decisions? If so, please name them and their job.

16. What formal or informal groups are important in influencing the action taken in your school or department?

17. What organization, groups or persons outside of school personnel are or have been important in influencing the actions of your school or department?

18. What has been the major effect(s) of the Federal governmentally supported programs on your school (system)?

    a. What new programs have been added to your curriculum as a result of Federal influence?

    b. What changes have been made in existing programs?

    c. What special program or feature of the school has been most affected?

    d. How has staffing been affected?

    e. How has supervision been affected?

    f. How has administration been affected?

    g. How has teaching been affected?

    h. What has the effect been on: the overall budget, local school budget, program budget?

    i. What has been the effect on the school's philosophy: Aims (short term) and objectives (long term)?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE II—DECISION-MAKING STUDIES

As part of our field work at the University of Florida we are making a study of larger urban school systems. Some information is needed from the persons who are in these systems, and are actively engaged in the processes within them. Your assistance will be of great help in this study.

You have been identified in previous interviews as a leader in this school system, and as one who can help us to understand it.

All information given will be kept *completely confidential.* True names are never used in the final report, not are your personal opinions repeated to anyone else. We would appreciate your cooperation and frank opinions.

1. How long have you lived in ____________________?
2. Age: 20 - 29 __________ 50 - 59 __________
   30 - 39 __________ 60 + __________
   40 - 49 __________
3. Sex: M __________ F __________
4. Occupation ______________________________
   Job Title ______________________________
5. What are your job responsibilities?
6. To whom are you responsible?
7. For whom are you responsible?
8. Years in this position ______________
9. Years in this school system ______________

10. Previous positions (most recent first)

a.

b.

11. How many years of schooling have you completed?

Grade: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

College: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Highest Degree

12. Of what organizations are you a member?

a. Civic

b. Religious

c. Professional

d. Social

e. Fraternal

f. Other

13. Are you an officer or director in any of these? Have you held any offices in the past? (code D = Director; P., V. P., S., T., = Office Circle symbol relating to past positions).

14. A. Please rank the issues listed below in order of their importance as you see them.

B. Feel free to add others which you think have been very important issues during the past three years. Next, rerank all of the issues if you have added any to the list.

A		B
	Communication	
	Community and Parent Participation	
	Equal Educational Opportunity for Core and Disadvantaged	
	Faculty and Staff Integration	
	Four Quarter Plan	
	$45 Million Bond Issue	
	Lack of Materials and Supplies	
	Location of New School Facilities	
	Merger of Teacher Organizations	
	New Programs and Curriculum Updating	
	Population Transition and School Overcrowding	
	Promotion and Transfer Policies and Procedures	
	Pupil Integration	
	Pupils: Discipline, Dropouts and Attendance	
	Teacher Salaries	

15. In every organization, some people exercise greater leadership and influence on the outcome of issues than others do. For purposes of this study, your judgment of the effectiveness of the leaders as influentials is needed. For assistance in this evaluation, a list has been developed through previous interviews. It would be of help to this study if you would consider the list below and rate the persons listed in accordance with the scale at the top. Feel free to add any other names to the list which you feel should be there.

Preliminary List of Leaders	Strong on Certain Systemwide Issues	Strong Local School Influence	Little Influence

Issue ____

16. Who initiated the action or proposal which resulted in this issue?

17. Who supported this proposal?

18. Who oppossed this proposal?

19. What was your position on this issue?

20. What sources did you use for information, advice and assistance?

21. Which leaders did you work with on this issue?

22. What were some of the suggestions for handling this issue? By whom were they prepared?

23. What action did you take in regard to this issue?

24. In your opinion, why was the issue resolved in the way it was?

25. How is the current state of the issue accepted?

26. What person or persons exercised the strongest leadership in relation to this issue?

27. Of all the issues or critical decisions with which you have been concerned, which one did you work the hardest to support or oppose?

Please give a detailed account of your work on this issue or decision.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE III—STUDIES OF ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT

We are doing field work at the University of Florida on the control of conflict in large school systems. All information will be completely confidential, including names and the names of systems involved. We would appreciate your cooperation and frank opinions.

Title______________________ Age____________ Sex__________

Job description:

Reports to:________________Years in position____________

In system________________

What group conflicts of major importance developed in your school system during the past three years:

Between administrative groups
Between administration and community groups
Between administration and teacher groups
Between administration and student groups

Conflicts could involve such problems as:

Curriculum changes
Finances
Zoning schools
Student discipline
Employment practices
Integration
Teacher transfers
New Facilities
Innovations
Fringe benefits

System X

Conflict between ____________________ and ________________________

Questions:

Description:

Cause:

Treatment: (Structure) (Process)

Result: (Goals)

Comments:

APPENDIX D

INTRODUCTORY LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDY OF EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS

Dear Sir:

The Department of Educational Administration of the University of Florida College of Education has a USOE research project to describe existing models of urban school organization and to develop possible alternative models. These model descriptions will include the following areas, rationale, organization chart, brief description of formal organization, decision-making processes, communication processes, conflict resolution, financing, staffing policies and procedures, evaluation, and consequential analysis of model.

We have completed part of our research in the literature and in several urban school systems. Among the models we have found in the literature and in the field are eight models, which are described in brief in the attached paper. We would appreciate your help at this stage of our research. Please read this paper and answer the four questions attached to this letter. Materials on your school organization and administration would be greatly appreciated.

If you have an interest in our project, these eight models, or possible alternative models, please let me know for the future sharing of our results.

Sincerely,

John Andes, Interim
Assistant Professor
of Education

(904) 392-0695

QUESTIONNAIRE I

A. Which of the following organizational patterns *BEST* describes your school system? (check one

________1. Unified

________2. METRO

________3. MESA

________4. State

________5. Decentralized: Services

________6. Decentralized: Region

________7. Decentralized: Feeder

________8. Community Control

________9. ________________________

B. How long have you had the current organizational pattern? ______years.

C. Are you currently considering any modifications of your organizational pattern?

______________Yes ________________No

D. If the answer to "C" is "Yes," please describe your current thinking regarding the modifications.

Please return to: Dr. John Andes, College of Education, University of Florida. (Please enclose any materials relating to "D" and organizational charts and other materials on your current organizational pattern.)

Brief Description of Eight Basic Urban School System Organizational Models

Unified: The unified school district provides education for elementary, secondary (and perhaps Junior College) pupils within a specified geographic area. It has a central organizational structure of a board, superintendent and staff, with schools operating to provide an educational program for the children of the citizens of the district being served. This model does NOT have organizational decentralization.

METRO: The METRO model comes into existence with the merger of several unified school districts into a single, larger urban district. This larger metropolitan district would include the center city area, suburban areas, and, perhaps, surrounding open county to be served. It would have a single organizational structure of board, superintendent and staff, and in general would follow the organizational pattern of the unified district except for size and centralization. The METRO model does not have organizational decentralization.

MESA: The metropolitan educational service agency district also consists of several previously independent unified school districts. It differs from the METRO model in that the central administrative structure provides taxation and educational services to the operating school district. The MESA organization will provide basic educational guidelines, but is NOT in control of the districts. In a MESA model there may be three to eight operating school districts, which though fiscally dependent on MESA, are operationally independent.

State: The state model consists of the elimination of the local independent school districts and the organization of the state into regions. The financing, education, and organizational programs are controlled by the State Superintendent of Education, with regional and local participation in their decision-making process.

Decentralized Services: The decentralized services organizational plan maintains the central organization of the unified district, but most of the curriculum and educational services are taken out of the central staff and are placed in regional service centers, normally within schools, in order to give more efficient educational services to the pupils being served. These regional services centers do NOT have administrative control over the schools that they serve.

Regional Decentralization: The regional decentralization model has a central organization, central administrative control, except that part of the central control is delegated to assistant superintendents of each of the regions into which the school system is divided. These regional superintendents function in a similar manner within their region as the superintendent does within a unified school district. They may or may not have a board. The regional superintendents are responsible to the superintendent and to the central board and work within the guidelines set by the central board.

Decentralization—Feeder Schools: Feeder school decentralization maintains the central administrative structure, but the method of decentralization is not in large regions, but on the basis of the high schools. This means that the high school administrator becomes, in effect, a regional superintendent for that high school and its feeder elementary and secondary schools. The instructional staff is located in the high school and they serve in the feeder school system.

Community Control: The community control model sees the educational program, personnel and financing as a community concern, and, therefore, under local community control. They would define community as one of the smallest subgroupings within an urban setting. Normally, a community control district will have under 10,000 pupils within an urban setting. They would have an independent board and little or no organic ties with surrounding districts.

APPENDIX E

INTRODUCTORY LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDY OF STUDENT UNREST

Dear Sir:

Our Department of Educational Administration, has been asked by several school districts to help them develop policies and procedures for student unrest, riots, boycotts, and discipline. The rise in the frequency of such incidents in public school is a major cause in these requests. A university campus does not have the answer and we need your help.

Please have a member of your staff complete the enclosed questionnaire. It is important that we receive copies of the policies and procedures used by your school district.

Thanks for your assistance.

Sincerely,

John Andes
Assistant Professor of
Educational Administration

JA/dg
Enc.

Please return to: John Andes
College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32601

1. School District

2. Does your district have official policies and procedures for:

   A. Student Discipline Yes____ No____

   B. Student Control (unrest, riots, demonstrations) Yes____ No____

3. Do individual schools have separate policies for student control? Yes____ No____

   Please attach copies of the district and school policies to this questionnaire.

4. If you do not have official policies and procedures for student control, does the district plan to develop some?
   Yes____ No____

5. Who participated in the development of these policies and procedures?

	Student discipline	Student control
Board		
Central Administration		
Principals		
Teachers		
Guidance Counselor		
Students		
Parents		
Other________________		

6. Have the policies on student control been used in a disturbance situation?
   Yes____ No____

   A. How effective were they?

   B. What are the major weaknesses of the policies?

7. What were the circumstances that led to the development of the policies on student control?

______a. student unrest (boycott, demonstrations, riot) in the district.

______b. student unrest in a nearby district.

______c. normal development as part of system planning.

______d. other

APPENDIX F

INTRODUCTORY LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

INVENTORY OF TEACHER OPINIONS

I am presently conducting a study of teacher attitudes under the auspices of the Institute for Educational Leadership at the University of Florida. Very few studies have been conducted in which teachers have been able to express themselves on the subjects covered in the enclosed questionnaire. Therefore, your participation will contribute considerable knowledge to the profession and its understanding of teachers' feelings toward their job and their organizations. This particular study involves your attitudes and opinions as they relate to teachers' sympathy with the use of collective action, teachers' expectations regarding local teacher organization goals, teachers' perception of fairness in treatment by others, teachers' sympathy with the use of sanctions, and teachers' job satisfaction.

New Orleans and one other large school system in the Southeast have been selected because they are in an urban setting. You were selected for participation in this study from a list of all the teachers employed in the New Orleans school system. The individual names were pulled at random "from a hat". Your responses will remain confidential and will only be used in group form.

I certainly appreciate your filling out the short, enclosed questionnaire and returning it in the self-addressed-stamped envelope provided. Your individual opinion in combination with the teachers' opinions will be very important to the study.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Ronald B. Warren
Research Assistant

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP—
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

INVENTORY OF TEACHER OPINIONS

Directions

You have been asked to indicate your responses to the following statements and questions. Please read each statement carefully so that you fully understand what is being expressed. Items 1 through 10 below are personal data items. They are of value to the researcher in finding common patterns of responses among all respondents answering the questionnaire.

To the left of statements 11 through 63 are the letters SA, A. U, D, and SD. Circle SA if you Strongly Agree with the statement, circle A if you Agree, circle U if you are Uncertain, circle D if you Disagree and circle SD if you Strongly Disagree. Your responses will remain anonymous if you place the unsigned completed questionnaire in the attached envelope and seal it.

1. Age
    1. ____ 20-30
    2. ____ 31-40
    3. ____ 41-50
    4. ____ 51-60
    5. ____ 61-70

2. Years teaching experience
    1. ____ 0-1
    2. ____ 2-3
    3. ____ 4-6
    4. ____ 7-10
    5. ____ 11 or more

3. Years in present system
    1. ____ 0-1
    2. ____ 2-3
    3. ____ 4-6
    4. ____ 7-10
    5. ____ 11 or more

4. Sex and marital status
    1. ____ Married female
    2. ____ Single female
    3. ____ Married male
    4. ____ Single male
    5. ____ Other

5. Highest degree held .

1. ____ less than Bachelors
2. ____ Bachelors
3. ____ Bachelors plus
4. ____ Masters
5. ____ Masters plus
6. ____ Doctorate

6. Number of dependents

1. ____ 0-1
2. ____ 2-3
3. ____ 4-5
4. ____ 6 or more

7. Present teaching level

1. ____ K-3
2. ____ 4-6
3. ____ 7-9
4. ____ 10-12

8. Income sources

1. ____ Teaching only
2. ____ Teaching plus others

9. Have you ever personally withheld your services as a result of a dispute with a school system or employer.

1. ____ Yes
2. ____ No

10. Have you ever, as a part of a collective group, withheld your services because of a dispute with a school system or employer.

1. ____ Yes
2. ____ No

SA - Strongly Agree
A - Agree
U - Uncertain
D - Disagree
SD - Strongly Disagree

SA A U D SD 11. Teachers who try to bring about changes through organized action are more professional than teachers who never try to make changes.

SA A U D SD 12. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education for the adoption of a merit rating system.

SA A U D SD 13. Do you agree or disagree that the following statement applies to you: "I have *not* been given facilities and materials adequate to do the job which I am expected to do."

SA A U D SD 14. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education to raise teachers' salaries.

SA A U D SD 15. In general, administrators tend to avoid responsibility for their actions when difficulties arise and place blame on the teachers.

SA A U D SD 16. There are times when teachers should refuse to undertake extra duties outside of their regular teaching activities as a means of changing unsatisfactory conditions.

SA A U D SD 17. Do you agree or disagree that the following statement applies to you: "If I had children, I would like to see them become teachers."

SA A U D SD 18. Administrators should be permitted to be officers of local teacher organizations.

SA A U D SD 19. It is *not* possible for one teacher by himself to solve problems of working conditions which confront an entire staff of teachers.

SA A U D SD 20. School administrators further their own interests more than they further the interests of classroom teachers.

SA A U D SD 21. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education to obtain better instructional materials in their schools.

SA A U D SD 22. Do you agree or disagree that the following statement applies to you: "I would enjoy spending the rest of my career doing what I am doing now."

SA A U D SD 23. Teachers are not given the recognition that they should have.

SA A U D SD 24. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education to secure payments for teachers for extra curricular activities which are not part of normal teaching duties.

SA A U D SD 25. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education to equalize teaching loads.

SA A U D SD 26. The size of the gap between classroom teachers' salaries and administrative salaries is unreasonable.

SA A U D SD 27. Do you agree or disagree that the following statement applies to you: "I could *not* encourage anyone to undertake a teaching career."

SA A U D SD 28. An unreasonable number of demands are placed upon teachers.

SA A U D SD 29. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education to secure clerical assistance for teachers.

SA A U D SD 30. Do you agree or disagree that the following statement applies to you: "I have had some unpleasant experiences which have lessened my enthusiasm for teaching."

SA A U D SD 31. Teachers should be willing to walk in a picket line that has been organized by their local teacher organization.

SA A U D SD 32. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education to reduce the number of steps necessary to reach the maximum on a salary schedule.

SA A U D SD 33. Teachers who take part in organized attempts to pressure the administration into making changes should *not* be punished or restricted in any way.

SA A U D SD 34. If teacher organizations do not like teaching conditions the way they are, they should take active measures to change others to their way of thinking.

SA A U D SD 35. Teaching is pretty much the same "old grind" day after day.

SA A U D SD 36. Teachers are not included in making decisions on things that really matter.

SA A U D SD 37. Recent "militant" activities on the part of local teacher organizations to improve teaching are examples of "grass roots" democracy in the teaching profession.

SA A U D SD 38. There is nothing seriously wrong with working conditions in teaching the way that they are.

SA A U D SD 39. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education to obtain good restrooms and lounge facilities for teachers.

SA A U D SD 40. Do you agree or disagree that the following statement applies to you: "I might leave teaching if I could improve my salary doing something else."

SA A U D SD 41. Classroom teachers can *not* rely upon administrators to further the interests of classroom teachers.

SA A U D SD 42. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education for the reduction in the amount of "paper work" that is expected of teachers.

SA A U D SD 43. Given the capabilities of pupils that you have, do you agree or disagree that supervisory expectations of your success with these pupils have been reasonable.

SA A U D SD 44. Under some circumstances local teacher organizations should go out on strike.

SA A U D SD 45. Classroom teachers are treated equally by school administrators.

SA A U D SD 46. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education for the improvement of retirement benefits.

SA A U D SD 47. Recent "militant" activities by teacher organizations will in the long run strengthen the teaching profession.

SA A U D SD 48. It is *not* correct to call teachers who try to change the conditions of teaching through organized actions "trouble makers."

SA A U D SD 49. Teachers should be willing to serve on a complaint committee that has been established by the local teacher organization to voice dissatisfaction with conditions that need changing.

SA A U D SD 50. Teachers should be willing to have their local teacher organization notify accrediting agencies and national teacher organizations of unsatisfactory conditions as a means of changing these conditions.

SA A U D SD 51. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education in removing teachers if administrators feel that certain teachers are unqualified.

SA A U D SD 52. Do you agree or disagree that the following statement applies to you: "If I had it all to do over again, knowing what I know now, I would still choose to be a teacher."

SA A U D SD 53. Do you agree or disagree that the following statement applies to you: "Administrative expectations of my personal behavior are *not* reasonable."

SA A U D SD 54. Local teacher organizations should place advertisements regarding teaching conditions in local newspapers when they feel conditions in their district are unsatisfactory.

SA A U D SD 55. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education for the reduction of class sizes.

SA A U D SD 56. An injustice is taking place when communities ask teachers to work at existing salary levels.

SA A U D SD 57. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education for the establishment of formal grievance procedures.

SA A U D SD 58. Public demonstrations by teachers are necessary techniques for alerting the public and the administration to teacher demands.

SA A U D SD 59. Most of the real leadership in the teaching profession is to be found among the ranks of those who are organizing to bring about needed changes in teaching.

SA A U D SD 60. Unsatisfactory teaching conditions will not work themselves out without the intervention of local teacher organizations.

SA A U D SD 61. Use of group coercion by local teacher organization is necessary in order to present a united front to the administration and public.

SA A U D SD 62. Local teacher organizations should negotiate with administrators and/or boards of education for representation on policy making committees.

SA A U D SD 63. Local teacher organizations are *not* moving rapidly enough in trying to bring about changes in the conditions of teaching.

APPENDIX G

INSTRUCTIONS AND QUESTIONNAIRE I—DELPHI STUDY

Instructions for Delphi Questionnaire #1
Evaluation of the Future of Urban Education Administration

Introduction

The purpose of this series of three questionnaires is to obtain a consensus of expert opinion concerning selected future developments in educational administration specifically, their likely schedule of occurrence, their apparent desirability, and their likely impact on the quality of education.

Procedure

This is the first of a series of three questionnaires. In general, the first questionnaire will be devoted to seeking the range of opinions; the next in the series will seek the reasons for extreme opinions; these will be fed back to participants in the final round. You will be given the chance to reassess your opinion at each level of questioning.

You will note that a series of sheets has been provided. These constitute both the questionnaire and the means of response. Please place your answers on these sheets.

Instructions

Please place your name on *each* page of the questionnaire so that when the pages are reassembled after tabulation your earlier estimates can be returned to you for use in reassessing your opinion.

Column one provides space for your estimate of the dates of occurrence of the developments. Three letters should be used to indicate your assessment. You should place an "A" in the interval you think the earliest possible date, given luck, money, intelligence, and motivation. You should place a "B" in the interval you think contains the most likely date of occurrence. A "C" should be placed in the interval by which, in your judgment, the development is almost certain to have occurred. (In probabilistic terms, "A" should be interpreted to correspond to a 10% confidence date; "B" 50% and "C" 90%.) If possible, all three letters should be used (once each) for each item.

You should utilize the "never" date option if you believe the development described is highly improbable.

In *column two* you are to enter you judgment of the desirability of each event by entering the appropriate number in the range 3 to -3.

In *column three* you are to enter your judgment of the impact of each event on the quality of education were it to occur. This is not a judgment of desirability but only of impact. Thus, a desirable, a neutral, or an undesirable event can have a range of impact on the quality of education, from very great to no impact. Please enter your judgment of impact by using the appropriate number, 0 to 3.

In *column four* you may enter any remarks.

NAME__________ ADDRESS________	Please enter your estimates as to the date that this event will occur (A - 10% probability of occurrence, B = 50%, C = 90%)							Please enter judgment as to the desirability of this event (3 = very desirable, 0 = neutral, -3 = very undesirable.							Please enter your judgment as to its impact on the quality of education (3= very great 0 = none)			
	1970 Exists	1971-74	1975-79	1980-84	1985-89	Later	Never	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	3	2	1	0

APPENDIX H

QUESTIONNAIRE II—DELPHI STUDY

Thanks for your assistance in completing Questionnaire I. Please complete and return this one, as soon as possible.

Instructions for Delphi Questionnaire II

Evaluation of the Future Large School district Organizational Patterns

Introduction

Having determined the range of estimates in Questionnaire I, the purpose of this questionnaire is to give you an opportunity for reassessment of your previous estimates and to determine the reasons for extreme estimates.

Instructions

Your previous estimates of the dates of occurrence for each development are given in *Column One*. Please use the 50% possibility of occurrence in your reassessment for this round.

Column Two lists the consensus obtained so far in the time estimates given in response to Questionnaire I.

Column Three provides space in which you may furnish a new estimate of the date at which you judge the item has a 50% chance of occurrence. Please write in the date (5 yr. period) of your new estimate in this column even if it has not changed from that given in response to Questionnaire I.

Column Four asks that you provide a brief explanation of your current estimate if it falls outside the dates indicated in the panel consensus.

Sincerely,

John Andes
Assistant Professor of
Educational Administration

QUESTIONNAIRE II

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Your Current Estimate	If your current estimate is earlier or later than the period indicated below, please briefly state reason.

APPENDIX I

INSTRUCTIONS AND QUESTIONNAIRE III—DELPHI STUDY

Thanks for your assistance in completing earlier questionnaires. Please complete and return this one, as soon as possible. This is the final one. Copies of the report will be mailed to you.

Instructions for Delphi Questionnaire III

Evaluation of the Future Large School District Organizational Patterns

Introduction

Having determined the range of estimates on earlier Questionnaires, the purpose of this Questionnaire is to give you an opportunity for reassessment of your previous estimates, and to develop some strategies for modifying the predicted future.

Instructions

Column One lists the consensus obtained so far in the time estimates.

Column Two lists the reasons given by superintendents whose estimates were earlier or later than the consensus.

Column Three your previous estimates of the dates of occurrence for each are given in column three.

Column Four provides space in which you may furnish a new estimate of the date at which you judge the item has a 50% chance of occurrence.

Questionnaire 3B lists only the organizational changes judged to be of high impact. Please indicate in *column three* your opinion of some consequences of the development of it occurred. In *column four* please indicate what you feel are some strategies for hastening desirable and delaying undesirable developments.

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimates as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
1. Education will be administered by state governments with the concurrent elimination of the existing local school districts in at least five states.		Early a. continuation of current trends b. exists in one state now c. in smaller states first Later a. slowness of change b. local control must be maintained c. expensive plant								
2. Education in the metropolitan areas (within a state) will have a single taxing and financing district and multiple operating districts in at least five metropolitan areas.		Early a. city school districts need money b. logical unit of governance c. legislative mandates Later a. too large b. decentralization is a fad c. expensive giant								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimates as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
3. Representatives elected by teacher organizations will serve as full members of a local urban school boards in at least five urban school districts.		Early a. exists informally now b. pressure or teachers organizations Later a. legislature will never approve b. public would not accept c. teachers would not want responsibility								
4. School districts will have a separate full-time division devoting itself to communication coordination and cooperation with the community served by the school system in at least five urban school districts.		Early a. necessary for urban crisis b. already existed in many Later a. time for public acceptance b. few educators prepared								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimates as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
5. Administrative decentralization in at least five urban school districts will be through the technique of decentralizing to regional superintendents or by transferring additional administrative responsibility to school principals.		Early a. already exists in nineteen districts b. legislative mandates c. flexibility and innovation								
6. Community controlled educational districts of less than 10,000 pupils will be the organizational pattern in at least five metropolitan areas.		Early a. experimental now b. pressure of decentralization Later a. depends upon degree of centralization b. experiments not working c. unequal educational opportunities								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
7. State and Federal governments will supply the total school budget from nonlocal tax sources (elimination of local property tax) in at least five states.		Early a. current trend b. true in one state now c. best equalization Later a. problem of federal priorities b. conflict of interests								
8. Federal and state governments will supply the minimum operating budget for education and local property taxes will supply additional funds for education (less than 25% of total budget) in at least five states.		Early a. may be true now b. better equalization Later a. problem of federal priorities b. states will not give up control								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
9. Urban school districts will have two superintendents in at least five urban school districts. One will be responsible for the educational program and the other superintendent will be responsible for administration.		Early a. exists now b. same have clerk or business manager c. business model Later a. superintendents will not permit b. violates chain of command								
10. Health, educational, welfare and social and employment agencies of the metropolitan area will be combined into a single administrative organization in at least five metropolitan areas.		Early a. coordination exists now b. necessary for "whole" pupil c. community school concept Later a. socialistic b. too large c. education lost in size								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
11. The judicial function of the school board will be eliminated and the function transferred to a separate board in at least five urban school districts.		Early a. needed new b. power of federal courts Later a. boards would not permit b. I hope!								
12. Educational parks will be a typical pattern of school organization and decentralization in at least five urban school systems.		Early a. exists now in 37 districts b. necessary for integration Later a. too costly in cities b. too large a collection of students c. may not need buildings								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
13. Local school advisory councils will function in at least five urban school districts in policy and program areas of decision-making.		Early a. advise in policy now b. courts have set up in Jackson, Miss. Later a. contradictory terms b. final decision must be by educators								
14. Educational professionals (teachers and administrators) will recommend and the school board will elect urban superintendents *only* from their recommendations in at least five urban school systems.		Early a. teacher negotiation contracts b. appoint not elect Later a. legislations, public and board will prevent b. educational power structure								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
15. The internal organizational structure of at least five urban school systems will be designed on the basis of PPBS.		Early a. experimental now b. national trend c. legislative mandate Later a. has never worked b. educators don't understand								
16. Students in secondary schools will participate in policy and program areas of decision-making in at least five urban school systems at the system level.		Early a. advise now b. continuation of trend c. knowledgeable students Later a. legislation, public and board will not accept b. not equal to lay control								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
17. Decentralization of administrative responsibility will be in regions composed of a high school and its feeder schools in at least five urban school systems.		Early a. same as educational parks b. exists now Later a. time to disestablish tradition b. too small an area c. too much H. S. control								
18. Education will be financed by state governments with local school districts having educational and operational control.		Early a. exists in Rhode Island b. equalization of educational opportunity Later a. can't separate money and control b. need local control and participation								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
19. At least five metropolitan areas will see the independent operation school districts unified into metropolitan educational districts serving urban, suburban, and fringe areas.		Early a. exists now in 13 districts b. court required integration Later a. too big b. major problem now is centralization								
20. Teacher association organizations will, in at least five states, negotiate on the state level rather than on the local school district level for salaries and working conditions.		Early a. continuation of trend b. state has money Later a. trend to community control b. would destroy local districts								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
21. Medical, social, welfare, employment and recreational services will be provided at school site centers in at least five urban school systems.		Early a. community school concept b. necessary for best education c. serves child and family Later a. socialistic b. too large and complex								
22. At least five urban school systems will be organized to provide metropolitan tax base and smaller operating school districts thereby gaining the advantage [illegible] small system.		Early a. Alabama has 4 mil county tax now b. financial equalization Later a. can't separate money from control b. another level of organization								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
23. Decentralization in at least five urban school systems will be service and curriculum decentralization without concurrent administrative decentralization.		Early a. exists in four districts now b. better curriculum assistance c. more relevant leadership Later a. doesn't work where it exists								
24. Decentralization districts in at least five urban school systems will have boards with legal (rather than advisory) authority.		Early a. under study in several now b. pressure from urban groups Later a. control will not be easily changed b. education is not local but state c. conflict between boards								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
25. Most (51%) urban school systems will have an assistant to the superintendent who will have no line duties but will function as a by-pass person for members of the school system and of the community to gain information and access.		Early a. necessary for communication b. will open system Later a. dysfunctional b. would destroy control								
26. The role of the system superintendent will become that of an administrator and implementor rather than the chief educational or curriculum leader in at least five urban school districts.		Early a. exists now in most districts Later a. why have superintendent b. decision of authority								

QUESTIONNAIRE III-A—*Continued*

Development	Panel Consensus to Date	Reasons for Early and Late Date	Your Previous 50% Date	Please enter your estimate as to the date that this event will occur with 50% probability of occurrence						
				1970	71-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	Later	Never
27. School districts will have a separate full-time division devoting itself to communication, coordination and information system within the district in at least five urban school districts.		Early a. necessary for urban crisis b. already exists c. we are planning now Later a. time for public to accept b. few educators prepared								

Return to: Dr. John Andes
Assistant Professor
College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32601

QUESTIONNAIRE III-B

The following items were judged to be of a high impact on the quality of education by the panel:

Development	Panel Judgment		If these were to occur some results might be:	Please list strategies for hastening the desirable developments and for delaying the undesirable developments.
	Desirable	Undesirable		
1. Education will be administered by state governments with the existing local school districts in at least five states.		X		
2. Education in the metropolitan areas (within a state) will have a single taxing and financing district and multiple operating districts in at least five metropolitan areas.	X			
3. Representatives elected by teacher organizations will serve as full members of boards in at least five urban school districts.		X		

QUESTIONNAIRE III-B—*Continued*

Development	Panel Judgment		If these were to occur some results might be:	Please list strategies for hastening the desirable developments and for delaying the undesirable developments.
	Desirable	Undesirable		
4. School districts will have a separate full-time division devoting itself to communication, coordination and cooperation with the community served by the school system in at least five urban school districts.	X			
5. Administrative decentralization in at least five urban school districts will be through the technique of decentralizing to regional superintendents or by transferring additional administrative responsibility to school principals.	X			

QUESTIONNAIRE III-B—*Continued*

Development	Panel Judgment		If these were to occur some results might be:	Please list strategies for hastening the desirable developments and for delaying the undesirable developments.
	Desirable	Undesirable		
6. Community controlled educational districts of less than 10,000 pupils will be the organizational pattern in at least five metropolitan areas.		X		
7. State and Federal governments will supply the total school budget from nonlocal tax sources (elimination of local property tax) in at least five states.	X			
11. The judicial function of the school board will be eliminated and the function transferred to a separate board in at least five urban school districts.		X		

QUESTIONNAIRE III-B—*Continued*

Development	Panel Judgment		If these were to occur some results might be:	Please list strategies for hastening the desirable developments and for delaying the undesirable developments.
	Desirable	Undesirable		
14. Educational professionals (teachers and administrators) will recommend and the school board will elect urban superintendents *only* from their recommendations in at least five urban school systems.		X		
19. At least five metropolitan areas will see the independent operating school districts unified into metropolitan educational districts serving urban, suburban, and fringe areas.	X			

APPENDIX J

STRATEGIES FOR HASTENING THE DEVELOPMENTS WITH HIGH IMPACT

Development	*Possible Consequences*
1. Education will be administered by state governments with the concurrent elimination of the existing local school districts in at least five states.	• More efficient management and allocation of resources.
	• Unable to meet local needs.
	• Greater state control.
	• Education financed by broader tax base.
	• Loss of local interest in schools.
	• Loss of local professional control.
	• Greater political control of professionals.
	• Better service to societal rather than community needs.
	• Rural dominated state legislation would pass conservative policies.
	• Loss of innovation.
	• More standardization of policy.
	• Statewide salaries, teacher recruitment, and negotiation.
	• Large monolithic harmony.
	• Greater equalization of educational opportunity.
	• Broad mediocrity.
	• Slowness of response to local needs.

Development	*Possible Consequences*
2. Education in the metropolitan areas (within a state) will have a single taxing and financing district and multiple operating districts in at least five metropolitan areas.	• Better communication, cooperation and coordination at local board. • Equalization of financial base on metro area. • More funds for center city district. • Increase possibility of integration. • Decrease possibility of integration. • Maintain local control of schools. • Equalization of educational opportunity. • Opportunity to allocate money on basis of need rather than source of dollar.
3. Representatives elected by teacher organizations will serve as full members of a local urban school boards in at least five urban school districts.	• Destruction of existing concept of public control of educational policy. • Teachers will have undue influence. • Lay control will be voided. • Further conflict in educational decision-making. • Teachers have vested interest. • The process of negotiation would be destroyed. • Loss of local lay support for schools. • Might bridge the gap between administration and teachers. • Legal as teachers would be on both parties to contract.

Development	*Possible Consequences*
	● Teachers should have greater voice in educational policy. ● Will upset current checks and balances system. ● Conflict of interest.
4. School districts will have a separate full-time division devoting itself to communication, coordination and cooperation with the community served by the school system in at least five urban school districts.	● Better acceptance and knowledge of educational decisions. ● Improve communication and understanding. ● Provide professional help to superintendent. ● Better community support by participation of lay citizens. ● More responsive school district. ● Better information for public and school district. ● More public participation. ● Relate to community needs better. ● Will provide a sounding board to receive ideas.
5. Administrative decentralization in at least five urban school districts will be through the technique of decentralizing to regional superintendents or by transferring additional administrative responsibility to school principals.	● Better K-12 coordination. ● Greater flexibility in school operation. ● Greater flexibility in educational programs. ● Decisions made closer to those affected ● Many principals couldn't function. ● Increased local participation. ● Authority must accompany responsibility.

Development	*Possible Consequences*
	● More rapid adjustment to local needs.
	● More focused accountability.
	● More red tape.
	● Lack of uniformity.
	● Overlapping responsibility.
6. Community controlled educational districts of less than 10,000 pupils will be the organizational pattern in at least five metropolitan areas.	● Less efficiency of financial base—increased cost.
	● Too small for operating efficiency.
	● Radicals can control districts.
	● Inequality of educational program.
	● Confusion of responsibility of local and regional boards.
	● Lessen possibility of integration.
	● Too many districts in a large city.
	● Could lead to extreme provincialism.
	● Educational control closer to people.
	● Inequality of educational leadership.
	● Duplication of programs, personnel and facilities.
	● Better assessment of real needs of pupils.

Development	*Possible Consequences*
7. State and Federal governments will supply the total school budget from nonlocal tax sources (elimination of local property tax) in at least five states.	• Greater equalization of financial resources. • Centralized bureaucracy. • Local control will be lost. • Better distribution of funds. • State and Federal control. • Increased public apathy to education. • Better long-range planning. • Superintendent concerned with education not financing. • Reduction of local taxes. • Less regressive taxes at state and federal level. • Local board can be more concerned with education. • Eliminates restrictions due to poor local effort or low local ability to pay. • More money for education. • Excess cost. • Loss of local flexibility.
11. The judicial function of the school board will be eliminated and the function transferred to a separate board in at least five urban school districts.	• Board can be more concerned with policy and program. • Arguments on what is judicial. • Conflict increased. • More bureaucracy. • Tighter control of schools. • Educational chaos due to fragmentation.

Development	*Possible Consequences*
	• Community would loose a democratic right. • Board would be stronger. • Would start a trend to destroy power of local boards. • Legal rights of all would be eroded. • Better judicial decisions.
14. Educational professionals (teachers and administrators) will recommend and the school board will elect urban superintendents *only* from their recommendations in at least five urban school systems.	• Public mistrust of education power structure. • Politics would be lessened in selection of superintendents. • Education would be area of superintendency competency. • Less lay control. • Remove education from people. • Popularity content could result. • "In breeding." • Better staff support. • Deterioration of quality of superintendents. • Longer term for superintendents. • Would upset current checks and balances. • Self-serving for teachers.
19. At least five metropolitan areas will see the independent operation school districts unified into metropolitan educational districts serving urban, suburban, and fringe areas.	• More efficient management. • Greater flexibility in programs. • Increase opportunity for integration.

Development	*Possible Consequences*
	● Better financial base. ● Economy of operation. ● More comprehensive long-range educational planning. ● More comprehensive educational program. ● Reduce administrative costs. ● Improve financial condition of central city area.

APPENDIX K

STRATEGIES FOR HASTENING OR DELAYING THE DEVELOPMENTS WITH HIGH IMPACT

Development	*Responses of Panel*
1. Education will be administered by state governments with the existing local school districts in at least five states.	● Panel discussion by administration, public, and legislature. ● State funding of education. ● Visit Hawaii and Puerto Rico, which have state system. ● Stress local participation. ● Provide better local financing now. ● Education is a state function. ● Stress equalization values. ● Build in controls on bureaucracy. ● Teachers and administration organize to fight. ● Develop state minimum educational standards.
2. Education in the metropolitan areas (within a state) will have a single taxing and financing district and multiple operating districts in at least five metropolitan areas.	● Long-range facility planning (educational parks). ● Work with existing metropolitan political councils. ● State legislation. ● Begin cooperative efforts among districts.

Development	*Responses of Panel*
	• Public relations to stress advantages especially fiscal. • Alternative to state control. • Professional studies on possible consequences.
3. Representatives elected by teacher organizations will serve as full members of boards in at least five urban school districts.	• NEA, AFT pressure. • Professional bargaining result. • Change state election laws. • Allow greater teacher participation in curriculum. • Point out undesirable consequences.
4. School districts will have a separate full-time division devoting itself to communication, coordination and cooperation with the community served by the school system in at least five urban school districts.	• School Boards can implement now. • Community group pressure. • Teacher organization pressure. • Student unrest pressure. • Seek advice from local media. • Incentive grants from state and federal sources. • Develop existing programs. • Hire good public relations specialists. • Lay advisory boards. • Open all educational meetings to the public. • Superintendents recommend.

Development	*Responses of Panel*
5. Administrative decentralization in at least five urban school districts will be through the technique of decentralizing to regional superintendents or by transferring additional administrative responsibility to school principals.	• Legislature action to require local board action. • School boards can implement now. • Study of best administrative decentralization plan. • Strenghten principal's role. • Develop communication policies. • Lay advisory boards. • Determine division of responsibility. • Funding incentives.
6. Community controlled educational districts of less than 10,000 pupils will be the organizational pattern in at least five metropolitan areas.	• Cost studies. • Study of effects on students and community. • School board members elected from regions. • More individualized instruction. • Demonstrate that central districts can develop better educational programs. • National study on optimum size of district for various educational objectives. • Legislature action. • Social pressure by community groups. • Stress negative results. • Community surveys on community needs.

Development	*Responses of Panel*
7. State and Federal governments will supply the total school budget from nonlocal tax sources (elimination of local property tax) in at least five states.	● Legislative action. ● Stress financial equality. ● Local taxes for local governments. ● Should retain some local property tax for involvement. ● State mandated PPBS system. ● Federal revenue sharing. ● Tax payers group to support. ● Voucher system of paying school districts. ● Profit sharing plans. ● Teacher organization support.
11. The judicial function of the school board will be eliminated and the function transferred to a separate board in at least five urban school districts.	● Encourage school boards to use judicial function wisely. ● Legislature action. ● Encourage board communication with community, pupils and teachers. ● Stress the failure of civilian review boards. ● Develop concept of arbitration. ● Teacher organization action.
14. Educational professionals (teachers and administrators) will recommend and the school board will elect urban superintendents *only* from their recommendations in at least five urban school systems.	● Political realities preclude this. ● Oppose legislature action on this. ● Communicate to community their loss of voice on superintendent. ● Select quality administrators. ● Maintain strong local educational organization.

Development	*Responses of Panel*
	• Maintain current laws.
19. At least five metropolitan areas will see the independent operating school districts unified into metropolitan educational districts serving urban, suburban, and fringe areas.	• Encouragement by state departments of education. • Council of governments to encourage. • Legislative action. • Public relations—sell advantages. • Change in financing system. • Begin with interdistrict cooperation. • Change accreditations procedure. • Political merger of metro area. • Work with regional political organizations. • Federal enforcement of integration laws nationwide.

APPENDIX L

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

Chapman, Edwin Robert. "Changes in The Organizational Structure of Two Urban School Systems to Accommodate Selected Federal Legislative Acts (1958-1868)." Ed.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1969.

Frasher, James M. "Decision-Making Processes in a Selected Metropolitan School System." Ed.D. dissertaion, University of Florida, 1969.

Friga, Jerome Joseph. "Interaction Systems in Selected Urban Elementary Schools." Ed.D. dissertaion, University of Florida, 1969.

Jenkins, Robert Eugene. "A Study of Communication in a Large Urban School District." Ed.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1970.

McBriarty, Douglas Oliver. "Conflict and Structure in Selected Large School Systems." Ed.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1970.

Trufant, John E. "Organizational Decision-Making Processes in a Metropolitan School District." Ed.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1969.

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